DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 244 883 SO 015 683

AUTHOR Maguire, Patricia
TITLE Women in Development: An Alternative Analysis.
INSTITUTION Massachusetts Univ., Amherst. Center for International Education.
REPORT NO ISBN-0-932288-74-X
PUB DATE 84
NOTE 71p.
AVAILABLE FROM Publications Assistant, 285 Hills House South, Amherst, MA 01003 ($4.00 plus $0.75 postage).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Developing Nations; *Developmental Programs; *Economic Development; Evaluation Methods; *Females; *Feminism; International Programs; Labor Economics; Labor Force; Modernization; Policy Formation; Productivity; Social Indicators; Social Integration; Social Science Research; Technical Assistance

ABSTRACT

This publication presents an analysis of the failure of international development agencies to encourage women's participation and argues for a feminist approach to women in development. Chapter 1, an introduction, defines feminist theory and discusses its applications to the entire development process. The challenge of women in development is seen not just as the problem of women being excluded from development but of monopoly capitalism and patriarchy shaping inherent injustices in the process. Development workers are seen as perpetuating this problem. Chapter 2 places the focus of women in development within its historical context. The International Women's Year is described as the product of several factors, including decades of Third World national liberation struggles that often excluded women's issues, the growing momentum of women's movements, and the failure of earlier development projects such as the First Development Decade. Chapter 3 clarifies theoretical perspectives upon which women in development efforts were established. Two world views are outlined. The dominant world view, upon which development efforts are based, assumes that women must be purposefully integrated into the economy for development to proceed. The alternative, feminist view argues that women are already integrated, but inequitably, because their unpaid labor is not considered to be real work by their societies. Chapter 4 expands on this alternative theory of social change, which recognizes the combined, although often contradictory, effects on women in development of monopoly capitalism, patriarchy, racism, and underdevelopment. The final chapter outlines recommendations for the future of development. A 6-page list of references concludes the paper. (LP)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED244883

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

D. R. Evans

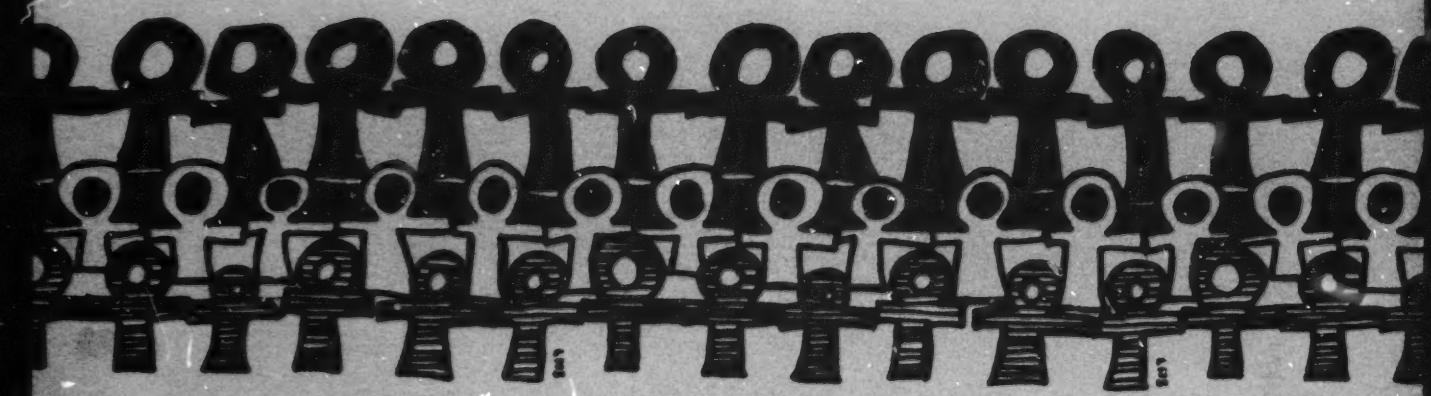
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Women In Development

An Alternative Analysis

Patricia Maguire

SØ 015 693



WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT:

An Alternative Analysis

by

Patricia Maguire

Center for International Education
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA 01003

ISBN 0-932288-74-X

©1984 Center for International Education
All Rights Reserved
Printed in the United States of America

Cover design from Liberation News Service
reproduced by permission of
International Women's Tribune Center

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is in itself learning.

Chairman Mao

I would like to express special thanks to the many people who make up the learning community of the Center for International Education. Center folks have provided a climate for dialogue and debate that has allowed me and this paper to grow and change over time.

For their support and comments on earlier drafts of this paper, my appreciation goes to David Evans, Linda Abrams, David Magnani, and Gail von Hahmann. Greg Thompson provided invaluable editorial support and the encouragement to complete the work. My deepest thanks goes to Calvin Marshall for his endless gentleness and help.

Pat Maguire
Amherst, Mass.
April 1984

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments v

Chapter

1 Introduction 1

2 Evolution and Creation of WID. 5

3 Theoretical Basis for Women in Development 19

4 Alternative Explanations: What Went Wrong with the WID Effort? 35

5 Getting There. 57

References 61

Other Sources. 67

1

INTRODUCTION

The United Nations Decade for Women is approaching its end and the United States development community is celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Percy Amendment, which put women on the U.S. foreign assistance agenda. The promise of the Decade for Women was to insure the integration of women as participants on an equal basis with men in the development process and to improve women's status (United Nations, 1976). Development agencies have generated numerous evaluations of their women in development (WID) effort. Evidence presented by these agencies and their critics indicates that the WID effort has not fulfilled its promise. In fact, development activities continue to make life worse for women (World Bank, 1980; ISIS, 1983).

Women and girls who constitute 52% of the world's population are counted as 33% of the official labor force, yet they perform 67% of all hours worked. Females make up over 60% of the illiterates, receive only 10% of the world's income and own less than 1% of the world's real property (World Bank, 1980; UN, 1979). These statistics are depressing and perhaps even dangerous because they mask key differences between groups of women. No doubt, one must go behind the statistical description of women's position to analyze and explain why women are in this position. How one explains the causes and dynamics of a problem frames the solution.

WID solutions of the development industry have not been successful. The purpose of this paper is to present an analysis of the failure of WID efforts to date using two competing explanations of the problem as a reference point. Based on the analysis, the paper argues for a feminist approach to women in development in the 1980's and beyond. The paper addresses the following areas:

* emergence of the women in development effort
* competing theoretical foundations of women in development, i.e., different explanations of the problem
* analysis of the failure of the women in development effort
* strategies for a feminist approach to women in development

Feminism is defined here as a theory which analyzes and explains the causes, dynamics and structures of women's oppression. Feminist questions are directed at the causes of the inequality between and among women and men. As used here, feminism acknowledges that women experience oppression differently according to their race, class and nation's place in the international economic order (Hartmann, 1981; Steady, 1981).

The terms feminist and feminist theory are distinctly different from what is commonly referred to as women's rights advocates or liberal feminism. Chapter 3 outlines the distinctions between feminism and women's rights advocates. They are unfortunately often undifferentiated or confused by writers attempting to present their version of so-called "North American Feminism" (e.g., Tinker, 1982a). Since race, class and underdevelopment affect the hierarchy even among men, the equality goal of the women's rights movement leaves a major issue unresolved. Which men do women want to be equal to? (Eisenstein, 1981).

The objective of feminism includes not merely equity but liberation of women and men from systems of injustice. Feminism advocates liberation through the transformation of all forms of oppression, structural and personal, based on gender, class, race and the international economic order (United Nations Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development [UNAPCWD], 1979; Steady, 1981). Feminism is not an assault on men per se but an attack on systems which require injustice and on the patriarchal images of women as passive, dependent and inferior.

From the feminist perspective, the goal is not to improve women's status, a nebulous quality with often unmeasurable, not-agreed-upon indicators which use "man" as the norm. An alternative goal is to increase women's dignity and power. That requires changing women and men's roles, not merely changing women's status within the constraints of present roles. Power here does not mean domination over others. Power entails control over one's life and body as well as ability to gain access to and control over allocation of crucial material and nonmaterial resources (Bourque & Warren, 1981, pp.49-52; Kanter, 1977, p.66). Power is a sense of internal strength, the right to determine one's choices in life and the right to influence the direction of social change (UNAPCDW, 1979). Power is critical to women. Hence, the goal is not increasing women's status relative to men but empowering women through redistribution of power.

The goal is no longer the integration of women into development, no longer the use and misuse of the forgotten 50% for development's purposes. The goal of integration does not give women choice or voice in defining the kinds of societies they

want (UNAPCWD, 1980, p.6). The ends of empowerment are not to enable women to push and shove into the mainstream of Western-designed development but to question the mainstream itself. Structural transformation is necessary because in order for women to share power, power structures must be changed.

The ultimate goal is to bring an imaginative feminist perspective to the entire development process. This alternative vision clearly includes women as subjects of development, no longer as objects to be targeted for development by men, and by a few men at that. Any feminist vision for WID must include mechanisms for women to speak for themselves; women are weary of being spoken for and about. Women everywhere have their own visions to shape development interventions affecting their lives.

Women have been cautioned against marrying feminism with WID. They are told that feminism is irrelevant and diversionary. They are told that to take "feminism to a woman who has no water, no food and no home is to talk nonsense" (Bunch, 1980, p.27). They are rightfully warned against imposing a limited and ethnocentric feminism (Tinker, 1982a; Latin American and Caribbean Women's Collective [LACWC], 1977). Indigenous women are told that feminism will disrupt much cherished cultural traditions. Yet, poor, rural and illiterate women talk back:

> Traditions that break women's backs, that take women's work for granted without any regard, that keep women at home, that insist on morality for women only, these traditions must be forgotten....(Obbo, 1980, p.28)

There already are vital Third World feminist groups organized within and across classes (LACWC, 1977; Arditti, 1983). Women are already painfully aware of their differential access to land, credit, literacy, schooling, political power and even the differential access to God (Bronstein, 1983; Bourque & Warren, 1981; Jain, 1980; Obbo, 1980; Huston, 1979). It is too late to tell these women that feminism is irrelevant to their lives and problems.

The intent here is not to minimize or ignore the differences among women nor to romanticize unity. However, women's differences cannot disguise the commonalities of those who will no longer be "the other." A feminist analysis is a necessary and powerful force in renaming the problem which WID addresses. The problem is more than being left out of development; it is the systems of monopoly capitalism and patriarchy which shape the injustices of development within and between nations. While women's oppression is institutionally structured, it is negotiated, perpetuated, disputed or changed through the conscious action of men and women (Bourque & Warren, 1981, p.4). Development workers may be among those men and women

whose collusion, tacit or explicit, supports systems of oppression.

Differences within the feminist analysis are examined in chapter 3, particularly differing definitions of the primary cause of oppression . Settling the debate on this primary feminist question is beyond the scope of this paper. However, arguments are presented which advocate an expanded socialist feminist analysis recognizing the combined, yet at times contradictory, effects of monopoly capitalism, patriarchy, racism and underdevelopment.

This paper acknowledges and applauds the work of WID proponents who have succeeded in assisting developers to ask additional questions of how development projects affect and include women. However, the paper raises different questions about women in development, and ultimately about development itself. The question asks how to make development more just, not merely how to make it more efficient. The question challenges those who recognize the need for development to serve people's self-determined needs and goals rather than for people to serve the development needs of the powerful few.

This paper is written for those who critically, yet caringly, want to participate in a living revolution to create a just world in which all people directly and collectively control their lives and labor. It is written for those who believe in the words of Paulo Freire (1973):

> Society now reveals itself as something unfinished, not as something inexorably given. It has become a challange rather than a hopeless situation. (p.13)

2

EVOLUTION AND CREATION OF WID

Historical Context and Trends

To understand the emergence of a focus on women in development is first to place it within historical context. The 1960's and 1970's were times of liberation struggles on many fronts. Colonized Third World nations persisted in winning political independence, continually adding to the United Nations membership list. Meanwhile, oppressed groups struggled within the borders of the colonizers. In the United States the Civil Rights Movement defied brutal force to assert that "Black is Beautiful"; Native Americans reframed the centuries old fight for "Red Power."

The oppressed understood the necessity of liberation not only from political bondage, but as critical liberation from internalized psychological slavery (Memmi, 1965; Mitchell, 1971). Independence, however, had not effected the colonial legacy of stark economic imbalances between the colonizers and the colonized, the North and South. The South, contending that its contribution of labor and raw materials to the international economy was grossly undervalued, called for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) to restructure the global economy and control over resources (Severn, 1980, pp.2-3).

The North had also recognized that its "aid" packages and projects were not succeeding in reducing world poverty. The United Nations First Development Decade, 1960-1970, ended with a call for a new development approach. This approach would move from concentrating solely on economic outcomes of development, such as increased capital accumulation and GNP, to focusing on social components. It included increasing the distribtuion to and participation of the world's poorest of the poor in the development process and its benefits. Throughout the 1970's, the purpose of development was modified to mean the development of people, not just things. The Second Development Decade's New Directions shifted to human resource development and attention to basic human needs. The Second Development Decade advocated redistribution of development's "benefits" within, not between, nations. While the rhetoric of the Third Development Decade calls for redistribution of resources and power between the North and the South, worldwide recession and deep-seated resistance to necessary structural changes have left inequitable economic relations and poverty intact (Severn, 1980; Brandt, 1980; Hayter, 1981).

For women a common theme cuts across the struggles. Whether it was independence, liberation movements, the NIEO or development, women learned that the changes, reforms and revolutions were not intended for them. The New Left turned out to be the same old male left. North American women were told that the only position for them in the struggles of the 1960's was "prone" (Evans, 1980, p.87). Latin American feminists were viewed by the male-dominated left as "puppets of imperialism, deflecting class struggle" (Flora, 1982, p.6). The UN resolution calling for the New International Economic Order included only one reference to women; it concerned the female biological role (UNDP, 1980). Initially, the experience of women in revolutionary movements varied. In Guinea- Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, revolutionary leaders, both male and female, recognized that women had to fight two colonialisms: one of the Portuguese, the other of men (Urdang, n.d.). Yet even after national independence, these women are still fighting the residual colonialism, patriarchy.

Socialism, too, has often postponed women's agendas. Socialism frequently grafts the additional roles of participation first in the revolution then in the labor force onto the almost completely unrestructured role of mother and wife. Both socialist and capitalist development have failed to reconstruct or redefine men's role, particularly in the family, in any significant way (Scott, 1982; Molyneux, 1981).

Women could bring their energy and labor into the liberation struggles, but the price of admission was high. One could name the exploitive relations of imperialism, of monopoly capitalism or of racism, but women could not name their own subordination. To be included in the fight to transform society, women could do so as leftists, but not as feminists (Flora, 1982, p.20). The effect was threefold. Feminists were frequently divided along class, race and national lines. Many feminist issues such as sexuality, reproductive rights, violence against women and division of domestic labor were left out of the man-made plans for a new society. Finally, some women abandoned the left as the women's movement mobilized and gained momentum.

The struggle against male domination may have been divided, but it was not stifled. Women activists continue to expose and work against the structural and ideological mechanisms of male domination. The origins and causes of female subordination were investigated. The ways in which women's roles and power were different or similar across cultures, time, race and class were explored. Questions were raised on how women interpreted their position and acted to change and shape the societies in which they live. To answer these questions women turned to their personal experience and in part to the social sciences.

Women soon discovered that the social sciences, for example, anthropology, had neglected them as well. As Schlegel (1977) put it, "One gets the impression...that culture is created by and for men...with children, women and the aged as residual categories" (p.2). If described at all, women's activities were presented as a mere backdrop to the more important action by men. Women anthropology graduate students challenged the purported objectivity of their field and its deeply rooted male orientation (Reiter, 1975; Rosaldo & Lamphere, 1974). Finding answers to their questions in mainstream anthropology was difficult for women. As Reiter (1975) noted:

> A great deal of information on women exists, but it frequently comes as questions asked of men about their wives, daughters, and sisters, rather than from women themselves. Men's information is too often represented as a group's reality, rather than as only part of the cultural whole...What women do is perceived of as housework and what they talk about is called gossip, while men's work is viewed as the economic base of society and their information is seen as important social contribution. (p. 12)

Examination of the social sciences was not in vain however. Women and their roles are no longer an invisible category, subsumed under the generic name for people: man. Previously unquestioned assumptions about sex and gender were challenged (Atkinson, 1983). Across cultures and time, there is evidence that women, like men,are "social actors seeking power, security and prestige ...and a sense of worth and value" (Rosaldo & Lamphere, 1974, p.11). There is also overwhelming evidence that whatever the mechanisms of subordination, women are not immobilized victims (VanAllen 1972; Obbo, 1980; Jain, 1980; LACWC, 1977). Women are actors for change, using whatever strategies are available to them to cope with and alter their personal situations and the larger society.

While social scientists and feminists collaborated to liberate women from the supposed laws of nature and invisibility, Esther Boserup, an economist and planner, put women on the international development map. Boserup's book, Woman's Role in Economic Development (1970) was hailed as a landmark analysis of women's active and substantial economic role in Third World nations.

Boserup's analysis was startling in that many mainstream economists and development planners had previously ignored the evidence she so painstakingly ferreted out and pulled together from already existing sources. Boserup concluded that women are major, often predominant contributors, particularly in agriculture, to the basic productivity of their communities. Yet their economic contribution is not reflected in national

statistics nor in the planning and implementation of development projects. Boserup also noted that sexual division of labor was not static, but changed over time.

Boserup appealed directly to development decision makers to recognize and account for women's roles in economic development lest the development process be less effective. Modernization was displacing women from their traditional productive functions, diminishing their income and status. Boserup was explicit in outlining how modern agricultural methods introduced via development projects negatively affected women. In effect, colonialism and neo-colonialism contributed to the decline in women's status.

In the early 1970's an informal network of mostly women development professionals and researchers documented additional evidence, building on the work of Boserup and the "new" anthropologists. The term WID was coined by the women's committee of the Washington, D.C. chapter of the Society for International Development (SID/WID). The group strategized on how to use this new information to influence development policy (Tinker, 1982b, pp.4-9).

Clear patterns began to emerge. Women's economic contribution was considered essential to the development process. Women's contribution to subsistence was essential to their status within the family and society (Sanday, 1974). Moreover, a woman's control over her contribution affected her status within the family (Sacks, 1975).

Through this work, a Western assumption was challenged. John Mill had proposed "that every step in the progress of civilization has been marked by a nearer approach to equality in the condition of the sexes" (Iglitzin & Ross, 1976, p.4). Modernization had been equated with increasing sexual equality. Yet by examining the changing conditions for women, many concluded that capitalist development imposed upon much of the Third World exacerbated inequities between the sexes. Sexual equality, like prosperity, would not trickle down from development. Development appeared to have a negative impact on women, eroding whatever power and authority they had in traditional relations. Development could no longer be considered a neutral or neuter process. As Evelyn Sullerot (1971) observed, "As a civilization asserts itself and redefines itself, the gap between the relative status of men and women widens." (p.19)

Examples of development projects widening the gap have been well documented. Projects have introduced purportedly appropriate technologies, such as oil presses in Nigeria, tortilla-making machines in Mexico and sago-pressing machines in Sarawak. Yet

the machines were made available to men rather than women, even when the technology was a substitute for traditional women's work. As a result, the gap between men and women's earning power, and hence status, further widened (Tinker, 1976b, p.27). The earning gap between women and men became so great that Elise Boulding coined "the Fifth World" to describe women. Women in all countries, capitalist or planned economy, have the lowest per capita income (Boulding, 1980).

Tinker argued that the detrimental effects of development on women were due specifically to development planners' Western ethnocentric views about women. She pointed out that planners, usually men, were "unable to deal with the fact that women must perform two roles in society, whereas men perform only one" (1976b, p. 22). Tinker attributed the adverse impact of development on women to three types of planning errors. There were errors of omission or failure to acknowledge and utilize women's productive roles; error by reinforcement of values which restrict women to household, childbearing and child-rearing activities; and error by addition, superimposing Western values regarding appropriate work for women (1976a, p.5).

Women were ignored in the project strategies of the First Development Decade, and the results were devastating. During the Second Development Decade, the SID/WID group moved to influence the policy of at least one major donor agency, the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID). The group testified at the Congressional hearings which framed U.S. foreign assistance policies. This lobbying effort resulted in the 1973 Percy Amendment to the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act. The amendment mandated that U.S. assistance help move Third World women into their national economies in order to improve women's status and assist the total development process.

The New Directions legislation finally included women in the development process. Buvinic (1982) outlines three priority shifts within the development industry during the Second Development Decade which created a more receptive climate for women's issues. Increased focus on the world population "problem" was accompanied by the realization that women are key actors in determining population trends. Acknowledgment of the failure of the trickle down approach to improve the lives of the poor highlighted the need for more information on the poor. Research on the lives of Third World women would provide this base. Finally, as the development industry established the "basic human needs" strategy, it recognized women's traditional importance in meeting these needs (Buvinic, 1982, pp.4-5). As priorities shifted, the development industry found that it needed women.

In summary, the sometimes collaborative other times incompatible work of activists, development professionals, social scientists and feminists created a focus on women's issues at the global level. This culminated in the United Nations declaration of an International Women's Year (IWY) for 1975. IWY is widely credited with bringing women out of obscurity.Women and their issues finally achieved the apparent legitimacy of an international forum .

International Women's Year: Input and Outcomes

Armed with studies and statements, the international development community descended upon Mexico City in the summer of 1975 for the World Conference of International Women's Year. The themes of IWY were equality, development and peace.

Officially, the UN presents a narrow view as to where the impetus came from for IWY. The UN regarded the conference "...as the culmination of a trio of conferences" (UN, 1976, p.131). These UN-sponsored conferences included the UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm (1972), the World Population Year Conference in Bucharest (1974) and the World Food Conference in Rome (1974). Additionally, the UN noted that since 1949, its Commission on the Status of Women had been giving assistance to the "advancement of women" (UN, 1967).

However, support of UN decision makers for IWY and inclusion of women's issues at the other conferences was challenged. The informal WID network, particularly supporters in nongovernmental development agencies, is reported to have organized "counter meetings" because women and women's issues were continually excluded from UN Conference agendas (Boulding, 1980; Papanek, 1975a). Boudling (1980) noted, "Most of the women, no matter how much knowledge they had, stood outside these conferences as petitioners and protesters" (p.27).

Likewise, the impact of the work of the UN Commission on the Status of Women was questioned. Tinker (1981) reported that for years it was "the only place where women in the UN could meet" (p.15) and during that time it labored in obscurity generating important but overlooked studies (Boulding, 1980, p.26). Contrary to official UN claims, the impetus for IWY originated not from the male-dominated UN leadership but from pressure from mainly women development professionals, researchers, activists and feminists.

Theme selection of IWY was marked with disagreement and compromise among First, Second and Third World delegations to the United Nations. First World women pressuring for IWY wanted

the issue of women's equality on the agenda. Within the UN framework, the Second World maintained that equality was not of central importance because there were no women's problems in socialist countries. They claimed that the capitalist system with its militarism was responsible for women's problems. To get Second World support, peace became one of the themes. Meanwhile, Third World delegations, while acknowledging women's problems, maintained that efforts towards development would increase women's status. Development was then added as the third theme (Stephenson, 1982).

At the Mexico City Conference, one wonders how many of the delegates to the official conference were women as well as who they were. While UN documentation of the conference does not provide a male-female breakdown, some estimate that at least half of the delegates were men (Papanek, 1975a; Stephenson, 1982). Concerns have been raised over how much experience the delegates actually had working on women's problems (Papanek, 1975b) as well as over the number of women delegates who were diplomats wives (Stephenson, 1982).

The intent here is not to trivialize diplomats wives, nor to suggest that men cannot be advocates for women's concerns. Certainly, the valuable work that came out of the conference cannot be negated. Rather, one must continually highlight the question of who speaks for women . One must be aware of which women speak and of the class, race, nation or interests they represent. Are women from various groups involved in setting policies and designing programs which target them ? If not, by what mechanisms have they been able to voice their opinions to decision makers and spokespeople ?

The factors influencing and framing International Women's Year and the Mexico City World Conference include the following:

* climate set by previous decades of national and international independence and liberation struggles often excluding women's issues
* reinterpretation of social science theories and assumptions with regard to gender and emergence of women's studies as an interdisciplinary field
* continuing momentum of national and international women's movement
* acknowledged failure of the First Development Decade and New Directions for Second Development Decade
* recognition and articulation of relationships, often harmful, between the development process and women, culminating in inclusion of women in New Directions policy

* on-going work of informal international network of WID development professionals, researchers and activists to keep women's needs and issues before the development community

While providing limited financial support and questionable commitment, the UN nonetheless put its prestige and machinery on the line for women in 1975.

An immediate outcome of Mexico City was a bold women's agenda, the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of IWY. Additionally, the conference called for a UN Decade for Women, 1976-1985, during which the World Plan would be implemented. According to conference documents, the purpose of the Plan was:

> ...to stimulate national and international action to solve the problems of underdevelopment and of the socio-economic structures which place women in an inferior position....(UN, 1976, p.11)

The Plan called for the achievement of equality between the sexes within the context of changed relations between the North and the South.

The Plan was daring in its reference to men. It called for reassessment of family and societal roles traditionally assigned to each sex. The Plan even stated that "the necessity of change in the traditional role of men as well as women must be recognized" (UN, 1976, p.11). But the time line for this role change was less daring. Men were not expected to assume an immediate equal share in the responsibilities of family and home. Instead the Plan focused on changes in women's roles. It recommended the establishment of socially organized services to free up women to undertake an equal (full) share in all societal activities. Presumably women would work in these social services. Their private work was to be made public. The Plan proposed that all efforts be made to change "societal attitudes, based on education, to bring about acceptance of shared responsibilities for home and children " (UN, 1976, p.11).

The extensive Plan was once described as a shopping list of desirable changes in the status of women. The responsibility and prerogatives for change were left to the piecemeal action of individual governments. "An army of bureaucrats would be hard pressed to follow through on all of the recommendations made..." (Tribune,1976, p.11). The Plan would also require considerable governmental will and resources which have yet to materialize in any substantial measure.

The UN committed its machinery to the Decade in several ways. The IWY Voluntary Fund, supported by pledges from member governments, was established to finance Decade projects. An International Research and Training Institute for Advancement of Women would be established "if voluntary funding from government and other sources for the first three years of operation becomes available" (Tribune, 1976,p.11). A Mid-Decade Conference in 1980 was planned to review and evaluate achievement of the minimum objectives set for the first half of the Decade.

A common framework for development agencies' WID effort was another of the outcomes of the activities leading up to and during IWY. The shared goal was the integration of women into the development process. Variations on the theme ranged from the definite language of integrate, increase, improve or upgrade women's participation in development to the tentative language of "help create a more favorable climate for improving women's options in development " (World Bank, 1980, p.14). Agencies predicted that integrating women into the development process would raise women's status and assist the total development effort. An analysis of development agency publications reveals the following list of obstacles to women's increased participation:

* traditions, attitudes and prejudices against women's participation
* legal barriers
* limited access to and use of formal education, resulting in high female illiteracy
* limited access to labor force and preparatory vocational, technical or agricultural training due to illiteracy
* time-consuming nature of women's "chores"
* lack of access to land, credit, modern agricultural equipment, techniques and extension services
* health burden of frequent pregnancies and malnourishment
* undermining of women's traditional position as economically contributing partners
* inadequate research and information on women which limited ability of development planners to create projects relevant to women.

As development agencies created an accepted list of the obstacles limiting women's participation in development, the development industry left out the call of the IWY Plan to change relations between the North and South.

Having identified the many obstacles, agencies continued refining WID goals. The goal was not only to integrate women into the development process, but to integrate women "more productively," i.e., to increase women's economic contribution

and their income. Again, this objective varied across agencies from increasing women's income to increasing their capacity to earn more. The development industry concluded that the keys to inclusion in the economic mainstream were education and training.

Training was recommended in vocational areas, agriculture, home economics, sanitation, home gardening and health and nutrition. Appropriate technology was needed to help women perform their traditional tasks more efficiently and in a less back-breaking way. Women would then be "released" for the more productive activity of "work." Because women's health was deemed important, agencies emphasized family planning and nutrition programs. World Bank President Robert McNamara frequently pointed out the linkages among women's education, employment and fertility. Thus, education and employment would simultaneously increase women's economic contribution and reduce fertility.

Many agencies observed that 50% of the human resources available to development were being wasted or underutilized. In essence, the development industry realized that women were essential to the success of the total development effort not necessarily that development was essential to women's success. The emphasis of WID shifted toward development and away from women.

With goals and target areas identified, agencies slowly built the internal machinery for women in development including offices, personnel, policy statements and eventually WID projects. Initially research was emphasized in order to discover what women did, how they did it and how projects might help them do it better. Simultaneously, studies were initiated to quantify and identify women's status in different countries. Since women were often invisible in international and national statisitics, agencies supported efforts to reorganize data by sex.

Research on women was essential to policy and project formulation; hence, funding was channeled into this area. With funding, even though limited, came increased status and respectability of research on women. Papanek (1975b) observed that more professional women were willing to be identified with WID, "Before there was a reluctance of women social scientists to be type cast in a lower status field or to be considered as women's liberationist where this is higly disapproved of" (p.196).

Buvinic (1982) observed that there was a major conceptual shift in research on women from an equity approach to a poverty approach. With the New Directions mandate, this shift linked women's issues with concern for the poorest of the poor, essentially separating women's issues from equity issues. The

poverty approach made it possible to "quantify the positive effects that may result from incorporating women's concerns into economic development programs" (Buvinic, 1982, p.2) rather than having to quantify the purported negative effects. Women's issues were translated into the quantitative language of the development industry. The conceptual shift allowed agencies to acknowledge that women's issues had concrete implications for their policies and programs .

The narrowed emphasis on poor women, read poor Third World women, had significant implications for women within development agencies. Equality, development and peace were not intended for them. In 1971 a group of women employees of the UN created the Ad Hoc Group on Equal Rights for Women, noting that within the UN, women's position was not equal to men's and was even deteriorating. They reported that even during IWY there was little movement on internal discrimination cases (Nicole & Croke, 1978).

On the final day of IWY, the Ad Hoc Group picketed the UN headquarters with signs asking,"What has International Womens' Year Done for You ?" Their leaflets contained statistics from UN agencies charging that at the present rate, in 107 years women would be equally represented on all staff levels within the UN system. In addition to questioning what, if anything, IWY had done for UN women, they challenged UN commitment to IWY noting that it was relegated to the bottom third of the Economic and Social Committee Agenda (Nicole & Croke, 1978, pp. 135-136). When these issues were raised within the UN, the response implied "...it's Third World women we should be concerned about" (Rogers, 1980).

Over ten years into the WID effort, women within the development industry do not have to be reminded that the focus is limited to poor Third World women. Tinker (1982b) reported:

> Professionals of both sexes...avoid being the WID officer for fear of being stigmatized as an advocate rather than a professional: WID is too often seen not as a serious development issue but as a method of increasing the number of perhaps unqualified women in the bureaucracy. (p.10)

This points to another outcome of IWY. At the Mexico City Conference and the parallel unofficial conference, the Forum, there was much debate and disagreement between First and Third World women, both women's rights advocates and feminists. There was difficulty acknowledging that women experience their oppression differently based on class, race and place in the international economic order. North American women were accused of imposing their views on Third World women and ignoring

diversity. Third World women were reproached for avoiding issues of sexuality and male domination. The differences in agenda meant differences in strategies. Should women fight for equaltiy within the present world order? Should they fight for the new international economic order assuming that would eventually yield equaltiy? Or should they fight for the NIEO while fighting Western and traditional patriarchy ? The differences were not resolved at Mexico City. The debates have eventually led to affirmation of diversity and a deeper structural analysis of women's position.

Oddly enough, one of the outcomes of the debates at Mexico City was to portray feminism and feminists as irrelevant and divisive to WID. Mainstream media and development agencies ridiculed feminism. In its customary trivialization of women, the media produced headlines about the UN World Conference such as "Feminists Scream Insults at Meeting" and "Mum's the Word as the Big Yak Yak Begins" (Tribune, 1981, p.6). In rare agreement, capitialist and socialist forces attempted to discredit feminism. Third World and socialist feminists were accused of being bourgeois, imperialist sympathizers while Western feminists were labeled as man-hating,"commie" revolutionaries.

The outcomes for the feminist connection to WID were not all negative. Feminists continue to raise awareness of the range of oppression which women must struggle against. The dialogue draws attention to the reality that different interpretations of the problems exist along with different strategies. The informal international women's network was enlarged and strengthened.

To summarize, the outcomes of IWY and supporting events for WID include the following:

* United Nations actions: Resolution of Mexico City, World Plan of Action, Decade for Women, Minimum Objectives for the First Half of the Decade, proposed Mid-Decade Conference, IWY Voluntary Fund, proposal for International Research and Training Institute for Advancement of Women
* development agency actions: common framework for WID goals and strategies, agreement on "integration" and "improved status" as WID goals, identification of obstacles to women's participation in development, initiation of internal WID machinery and emphasis on research and data collection effort
* international attention on women's issues
* shift from equity to poverty approach and separation of poor Third World women's needs from women's oppression in general
* attempt to declare feminism irrelevant to WID
* dialogue primarily outside of development industry which led to recognition of diversity of women's

situations and oppression acknowledging linkages between women's oppression and other structural, racial and class issues.

* strengthening and diversifying informal international WID network.

A range of development industry policies and projects gained impetus and shape from the events leading up to and following International Women's Year. These are short-term outcomes. The obvious next step is to consider long-term outcomes. By their own account, through evaluations published over the last six to eight years, major development agencies acknowledge that the WID effort has not been successful.

In order to address the question of why WID efforts of major development agencies have not been successful to date, the next chapter analyzes the theoretical base of the mainstream WID effort. The chapter identifies the theory of social change from which WID emerges. It then advocates an alternative theory of social change upon which to base a different approach to women and development.

3

THEORETICAL BASIS FOR WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Need for Explicitness

The work of Rolland Paulston supports the growing recognition that there are no neutral planners or practitioners. Few development workers would deny that their practice should be based on theory, and that theory in turn should be modified by practice. Yet, many developers fail to acknowledge that theory is based on values, and values are never neutral. Furthermore, one's ideology and values determine one's choice of theory. Theory is the lens through which the world's problems and solutions are viewed. An intimate relationship exists among one's world view, theory and resulting policy and strategy choices. Values and ideology are not inappropriate nor should they be avoided by planners and practitioners. People inevitably operate out of a value system. Rather, developers should be explicit about their personal world view and understand how that view shapes their approach to change. Paulston (1976, p.v) warns against denying or disguising values with neutral sounding terminology. Ultimately, all social change efforts are political because they have implications for the redistribution of power.

This chapter provides a framework for understanding social theories. It outlines differences between two world views, often referred to as the dominant and alternative paradigms. The chapter establishes that the development industry WID approach falls within the dominant paradigm. Feminist theories within the alternative paradigm are explained. Socialist feminism in particular is advocated as the basis for a more meaningful approach to WID. This lays the groundwork for the following chapter which presents two competing explanations of the failure of WID to date.

Windows on Reality: Different World Views

The dominant and alternative world views differ in their assumptions about the nature of society and the nature of social science, i.e., how to investigate society (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). These assumptions are so fundamentally different that they create separate windows from which to observe and make sense of the "reality" of social relations, problems and change (Paulston, 1976). Paulston labels the dominant world view as the liberal - equilibrium approach and the alternative view as the critical - conflict approach. For the purpose of this paper, the

categories are shortened to the equilibrium and critical approaches.

The range of theories and specific differences within each approach are not described here. While recognizing the danger of oversimplification, this section nonetheless summarizes the generic equilibrium (dominant) and critical (alternative) approaches. The purpose is to provide a tool for analyzing the development industry WID effort.

The equilibrium approach assumes that society strives to maintain a state of equilibrium. Theories within this approach analyze and explain why and how society holds together. Balancing and stabilizing mechanisms are emphasized. The view supposes that most people in society share basic values such as individualism; hence consensus is assumed. The existing system is an unquestioned given, assumed to operate in everyone's best interest. Economic and social growth upgrade society. Some inequality is inevitable, even necessary, for the efficiency and survival of society. For example, because people are assumed to need motivational incentives, unequal rewards are justified.

With these assumptions about the nature of society, change is explained as an attempt to restore balance. Planned change should be gradual. Reform involves incremental steps toward greater efficiency of the existing social system. Efficient change or adjustment of the status quo should be rational. Rational change is assisted by invention, innovation and technology. The key standard is efficiency.

Within the equilibrium paradigm, the purpose of evaluation and assessment is to acquire data for orderly adjustment. This assumes that the scientific method, used to investigate the natural world, can be directly applied to the human social world in order to generate information on which to make "optimal" decisions. Guided by social efficiency, evaluation of reform efforts asks questions such as: Were the expected results achieved? Were program goals and objectives met? Which reforms were most effective and economically efficient? Hence assessment highlights effectiveness, efficiency and cost-benefit analysis.

One assumption of theories within the critical approach is that society is in conflict, not harmony. Societal conflict is rooted in class and group struggles and competition for power and scarce resources. Critical theories seek to explain how domination and oppression are structurally maintained. They expose the function of class-based inequities in systems oriented toward increased production and the reproduction of inequitable social relations over time. Differential rewards are necessary to keep the working class fragmented and less powerful (Papagiannis,

Klees, and Bickel, 1982). The approach stresses historical analysis of conflict between groups with unequal power.

Change is explained as an attempt to challenge structural inequities. Unlike the equilibrium approach, the goal of social change is not reform within the existing system but radical transformation of the system itself. Social, political and economic structures should be transformed in order to redistribute power and resources fairly.

Invention, innovation and technology are challenged in terms of their ability to single-handedly affect the root causes of societal problems. For example, the poor are not marginal because they have inappropriate technology. They are marginalized by inequitable distribution of resources and power. Innovation and technology are not panaceas for poverty. One must ask not only who benefits from innovation, but also who bears the cost (Papagiannis et al, 1982). For the critical approach, the primary concern is social justice and equity, not efficient injustice.

The purpose of evaluation and assessment is to examine how social and economic inequities are produced, maintained and legitimized. With the vision of justice, evaluation asks such questions as: Who gets what from the reform? Why? For whom is the reform efficient or functional? Power-benefit analysis overshadows cost-benefit analysis (Paulston, 1979).

In summary, the equilibrium and critical paradigms are based on fundamentally different assumptions. The competing views influence not only how problems are defined and analyzed, but more crucially which problems are worthy of analysis and intervention. The "windows on reality" provide focus yet simultaneously limit the field of vision. Difference in problem definition invariably means differences in solutions and strategies. Each paradigm leads to significantly different courses of action. Policy and practice are shaped by competing explanations of "what is" as well as "what should be."

Development Industry Approach to WID

The development industry WID effort reflects the equilibrium world view. Within major donor agencies, WID has been promoted on the suppostion that in order for economic development to proceed and succeed, women must be purposefully integrated. That prosperity was not trickling down to the world's poor became apparent during the First Development Decade. Failure was partially attributed to ignoring women in development plans. Although the purported negative impact of development on women

was difficult to quantify, many concluded that if left out, women could have a negative impact on development. UNDP argued that "development will be slowed down unless there is greater participation by women in all areas at all levels "(Boserup & Liljencranz, 1975, p. 30).

As UN development organizations and major donor agencies formulated their WID policies for the Second Development Decade, the rationale for including women was efficiency of the International Development Strategy. The development industry maintained that not to utilize 50 percent of the available human resources would slow the development process and risk failure of the decade's New Directions. The World Bank (1979a) noted:

> ...leaving questions of justice and fairness aside, women's disproportionate lack of education, with its consequences in low productivity, as well as for the nutrition and health of their families, has adverse effects on the economy at large. (p.2)

AID (1983) predicted that securing women's inclusion in a range of human resource development programs would "ultimately result in the critical national benefit of a healthy, well trained productive workforce." (p.1)

Questions of justice and fairness were put aside and left there. Women would be integrated into development because economic efficiency required their participation. The emphasis was primarily on the development half of WID. The integration goal was based on the assumption that women were not yet making a full productive contribution to the development of their societies. The call to increase women's economic contribution was grounded in a view of women as "economic parasites" (Blumberg, 1976).

Another way of looking at the development industry approach is to consider their definition of the problem. Women were being left out of economic development because there were many obstacles to their participation. Women were uneducated and their methods and technologies underproductive. Their illiteracy was a drag on progress. Furthermore, their lack of knowledge posed a threat to their family's health and nutrition. Without education and training, women might actively resist change (Boserup & Liljencranz, 1975). Women were to be upgraded so they could contribute productively to the development system which previously ignored, by-passed and rendered them invisible.

The plan then was to "treat" women. Agencies developed special women's projects as well as women's components of larger projects. Programs targeted education, nutrition, family planning, income generation, training and employment. While

developing WID projects, planners identified a secondary problem. They lacked adequate information about women. This "knowledge gap" required the intermediary WID goal of research and reorganizing available statistical data by sex. In time agencies realized that not only did they lack data, they had also misunderstood gender differences. AID (1982) recently noted that misunderstanding gender differences leads to inadequate planning and designing of projects which results "in diminished returns on investments " (p.3).

As noted, the initial promise of integrating women into development was to improve their status and assist the total development effort. In its most recent and most comprehensive WID policy paper, U.S. AID (1982) pointed out that "improving women's status" raised the equity issues, while "assisting the total development effort" raised the efficiency issues. The AID policy paper continued:

> While both arguments are important...AID's primary concern is to fully comprehend that the pace of development and the quality of its outcome is greatly dependent on the degree to which women and girls fulfill their potential contribution and share in society's gains. (p.1)

Buvinic (1982) observed an early shift in WID from an equity approach to a poverty approach. The development industry opted for an economic efficiency approach. U.S. AID (1982) clearly articulated this stand. "The experience of the past 10 years tells us that the key issue underlying the women in development concept is ultimately an economic one " (p.3).

View From a Different Window

The development industry approach to WID is tightly constrained by its equilibrium world view emphasis on economic efficiency. It argues that women should be integrated into development in order to increase both their potential and actual productive contribution to society. This increased and more effective contribution will hasten economic development. From the critical view, women are already deeply integrated into the economies and development of their societies but on inequitable terms. What women do as unpaid labor is often not even considered work. The focus on increasing women's potential contribution ignores their actual economic contribution through the work of subsistence farming, food processing and preparation, small livestock maintenance, acquisition of firewood and water, handicraft production, childbearing and rearing and care of the sick and elderly. Furthermore, the work women do for wages is usually undervalued, underpaid and often considered secondary to

the assumed male household breadwinner. Yet female-headed households account for over 30% of all households worldwide.

World Bank, U.S. AID, UNDP and other UN agencies have articulated a long list of obstacles to women's participation as both agents and beneficiaries of development. The list accurately describes the problems and situations women face. However, it offers no coherent explanation of why women face these obstacles more frequently and in greater numbers than men. The industry readily acknowledges that women have experienced development differently than men, but why? Why and how have gender differences been translated into and maintained as gender inequities ?

The development industry analysis refers to the discrimination women face in the labor force. Constraints of traditions, attitudes and prejudices against women are acknowledged, but they are not understood, explained or addressed in WID policies and projects. The current WID approach has purposefully distanced itself from acknowledging let alone addressing sexism, discrimination and gender inequities. The problem is never called oppression. To name women's oppression is seen as diversionary and threatening particularly to male decision makers and planners needed to support WID within the development industry. By denying and masking the problem of women's oppression, WID advocates seek male support for solutions which do not address any of the root problems women face.

WID to date presents women's situation as a set of disjointed and unconnected problems which can be approached in an ahistorical, piecemeal fashion. The resulting solutions are short term and fragmented. By suggesting that equity issues can be separated from economic ones, the approach guarantees that women's increased economic productive contribution will be on inequitable terms. Equity issues cannot be separated out; they can only be ignored. For example, education is promoted as one of the keys to increasing women's economic potential. Yet in First and Second World countries educated women still earn less than similarly educated men. In the U.S. women with a college degree earn less than men with eighth grade educations. By focusing exclusively on poor Third World women and ignoring the relevant experience of First and Second World women, WID often promotes strategies which have failed elsewhere. Fragmented economic solutions are promoted without a structural economic analysis of the problem.

The development industry's current economic emphasis is ultimately dangerous for women. While advocating increased economic contribution, the emphasis fails to recognize that the present economic relations which exploit women's labor are

profitable. The question not asked let alone resolved is who will benefit from this increased economic contribution.

As women move out into the public domain either through economic necessity or personal choice they retain nearly full responsibility for work in the private, domestic sphere. The approach assures a double day for women. Where are the "men in development" programs? There are no promotions to simulataneously increase men's contribution to the private work of the household.

From the critical view the greatest flaw of WID is that it has ignored the dynamics of differential power and privilege between men and women. WID treats women as if they live in a uni-sex vacuum. To raise women's status surely has implications for men. Affecting women's power and privilege has implications for men's. While exploitive economic relations go unaddressed, the patriarchal oppression of women goes unnamed.

Demystifying Feminism

Feminism is more than relevant to WID. It offers new ways of viewing the world. It offers a vision of how societies might exist without injustice at their core (Bunch, 1981, p.31). Such a vision has implications not only for women but for the development process itself.

Feminism highlights the centrality of the concept of power and its opposite, oppression. Feminism asks root questions about all forms of domination. Questions are directed at the causes of inequality between and among women and men. Feminist theories differ in what they believe to be the primary oppression. The origins and dynamics of women's subordination are still under debate and unresolved. An additional unresolved question is: Why is it men who dominate? (Riddiough, 1981). Settling these debates is beyond the scope of this work.

This section maps out the general terrain of feminist analysis. The purpose is to demystify feminism by getting beyond the trivializing stereotypes of feminists as bra-burning, man-hating fanatics. It briefly outlines key concepts and arguments of three predominant feminist theories, i.e., radical feminism, Marxist feminism and socialist feminism.

These three feminist theories share an assumption which puts them solidly within the alternative paradigm or critical world view. Each theory acknowledges the necessity of major transformation as a condition for social justice. Because the

theories differ on their perception of the primary oppression as well as origins and nature of women's oppression, their specific change strategies differ (Jagger, 1977).

Women's rights advocates or liberal feminists are not included in the critical world view. From a liberal feminist perspective, a just society allows equality of opportunity to compete on equal terms (Jagger, 1977; Elshtain, 1981). The problem for women then is inequality resulting from lack of civil and political rights. Women's rights advocates pressure for legal reforms to improve women's status. Liberation means elimination of the legal and customary constraints which hinder women in competing on an equal basis with men for the benefits of the system.

By pressuring for "equality with men," women's rights advocates ignore the fact that men are not equal to each other either in capitalist class societies nor within the hierarchies of centralized state socialism. Men and women both experience oppression based on their race, class and the international economic order.

Radical Feminism: Beyond Biology as Destiny

Radical feminism argues that the primary motivating force of history has been men's striving for domination and power over women (Hartmann, 1981). Historically, the physical subjugation of women by men was the most basic form of oppression (Jagger, 1977). The sexual imbalance of power is biologically based. The primary oppression is gender relations. Radical feminism maintains that access to power is primarily sexually based not class or economically based. Put another way, the original "class" division was between the sexes based on the original biological division of reproductive labor. Hence, the concept of "sex class" is primary to comprehending power relations.

In the early days of defining radical feminism, Firestone contended:

> ...even when they don't know it, feminists are talking about changing a fundamental biological condition...so the end goal of feminist revolution must be...not just the elimination of male privilege but of sex distinction itself: genital difference between human beings would no longer matter culturally. (Jagger & Struhl, 1978, pp. 116, 123)

What made the position truly radical was the idea that a biological-technological revolution was a prerequisite of liberation. Via artificial means, society would take over childbearing. That position was modified to contend that women

should no longer be subjected to prolonged childbearing and rearing. Artificial birth control, spaced births, small families, communal nurseries and other socialized forms of child care were advocated to free women from biological and reproductive oppression (Gough, 1975).

Although the problem is primarily biological, Firestone recognized that it becomes political:

> Though man is increasingly capable of freeing himself from the biological conditions that created his tyranny over women and children, he has little reason to want to give this tyranny up. (Jagger & Struhl, 1978, p. 122)

Radical feminists realized that men, not women, might gain control of reproductive technologies and maintain dominance over women. Male-dominated governments and churches control the legality, morality and conditions of access to safe, affordable contraceptives. Government-financed sterilization abuse of women of color is an example of this phenomenon.

Radical feminists define patriarchy as the system of sexual hierarchy in which men possess superior power and economic privilege (Eisenstein, 1979, p.17). Kate Millet observed that every avenue of power within society is entirely in the hands of men, i.e., the military, industry, religion, technology, higher education, science, finance and politics (Hartmann, 1981). The sexual hierarchy is preserved though the sexual division of all labor.

"The personal is political" and "sexual politics" are notions associated with radical feminism. Radical feminism forced recognition of the personal and private side of women's oppression within the hidden relations of the family.

Although radical feminism is applauded for establishing sexual politics as a central area of struggle, it is challenged on many points. Hartmann (1981, p.12) contended that overemphasis on biology and reproduction does not explain how the biological fact of "sex" has become a social phenomenon of "gender," specifically gender inequity . Why has one set of tasks, the reproductive, been devalued resulting in less social power ? Radical feminism does not explain the origins of the male power urge. "Do they assume the power urge is biological?" (Hartmann, 1981, p.367). Why and how did men acquire control over women's reproduction?

Radical feminism is also criticized for being "class blind." Women's personal experience of oppression is affected by their place in the class structure. Yet radical feminism does not

explain class oppression nor account for the class nature of the feminist movement (Sargent, 1981; Barrett, 1980).

In addition to its blindness to class, radical feminism is also criticized for being ahistorical. Patriarchy is presented as essentially unchanging over time. Others contend that patriarchy has gone through historical transformation. Not only does it differ over time, but across cultures as well (Young, 1981; Hartmann, 1981).

An ahistorical prespective of patriarchy has implications for race. A definition of patriarchy which views all men as having similar power over all women does not account for inequitable relations between men of color and white women. In the U.S. context, Joseph (1981) questions the supremacy of black men over any women. She proposes that there is more solidarity between white men and women than between white and black men or between white and black women. Joseph also notes that the ahistorical analysis of radical feminism ignores how slavery and its legacy have oppressed black women.

One of the strongest criticisms of radical feminism is that it borders on "biological determinism" (Eisenstein, 1979). The oppression of women by men is presented as an "unfolding, inevitable plan" which both ignores the history of struggles and nearly denies women hope of liberation (Barrett, 1980,pp.12-23).

Marxist Feminism: Capital and Women

Unlike radical feminism, which views gender relations as the primary oppression, Marxist feminism presents economic or class relations as the primary oppression. In the capitalist class structure, relations between classes are based on the relation each class has to the means of production. Marxist feminist analysis then focuses on women's relation to capital and modes of production not on women's relation to men.

The Marxist and Marxist feminist analysis of women's oppression has changed over time. Hartmann (1981) divides the Marxist approach to the "woman question" into three groups: early Marxists, contemporary Marxists, and Marxist feminists.

The early Marxist approach is based largely on the work of Engels regarding the "historic defeat of the female sex." Engels proposed that women's oppression like class oppression was grounded in changes in the relations of production, specifically emergence of private productive property such as domesticated animals. Assuming that man-the-hunter domesticated animals,

Engels contended that men were in the position to control this accumulated wealth. In order to be able to identify heirs and ensure the ability to pass on the accumulated private productive property, Engels maintained that men overthrew the matrilineal system, assumed by Engels to be in universal operation. With the overthrow of "mother right," men formed the monogomous family in order to control inheritance and women's sexuality and reproduction, both potential threats to identifiable heirs. Differential ownership of wealth led to inequality within the family just as it led to inequality between classes.

The unique oppression of women resulted from their position in the monogamous family. With the full-scale emergence of capitalism, women were excluded from participation in public production and relegated to the reproductive work within the family. With the evolution of the nuclear family as an economic unit of production, women were put in an inferior position.

Early Marxists including Marx, Lenin, Engels and Kautsky predicted that capitalism would bring women and children into the wage labor force along with men, thus undermining men's power in the household. Women's emancipation from male patriarchy would come with the massive entrance of women into the public productive sphere. Domestic reproductive work would be taken over by the state. By bringing women into the paid labor force, captialism would predictably abolish the sexual division of labor as well as sex differences in that all workers would be "equally exploited." On this equal basis, women would join men in the proletarian struggle to ovethrow capitalism (Hartmann,1981,p.4).

Engels maintained that the family hid domestic slavery similar to male "wage slavery." Furthermore, Engels argued that the material base of women's oppresion differed in bourgeois families from proletarian families. He argued that women were not oppressed as proletarians because there was no private productive property to pass on.

The massive entrance of women into the wage labor force on equal terms with men as predicted by early Marxists did not occur. Contemporary Marxists, acknowledging that sexism predated capitalism, nonetheless maintain that sexism has been shaped by capital. Under capitalism, women were excluded from outside wage labor work and required to do capitalism's reproductive work within the home. Women were allocated the unprofitable but socially necessary work of food production, domestic maintenance and care of children and the sick and elderly for no direct payment. In addition, women provided a pool of cheap labor (Jagger, 1977). The family evolved into a consumption unit. Hence, capital while not creating women's oppression, intensified women's subordinate position. According to Zaretsky (Hartmann, 1981, p. 5) women, enslaved in the home, worked for capital not

for men. Therefore, women's oppression could best be understood and fought in terms of their relation to capital not to men per se.

Marxist feminists argue that early and contemporary Marxists have not accounted for women's domestic labor as adequately as they have accounted for women's underpaid and insecure position as wage labor (Barrett, 1980, p.30). Since the relationship of housework to capital had to be considered, they argued for the concept of productive domestic labor in addition to productive wage labor.

Marxist feminism focuses on women and men's separate relationship to the means of production. Power and its converse oppression derive from a person's class position. Critics suggest that by focusing on women's and men's separate relationship to the means of production, Marxist feminism ignores the need to acknowledge and transform the power relationship between men and women (Jagger, 1977, p.17). Hartmann (1981) contends that the "woman question" of the Marxist analysis has never been the feminist question: What are the causes of sexual inequality between women and men ? It has not adequately explained the different experience of men and women under capitalism. Why do women fill the subordinate places both inside and outside the home? (Eisenstein, 1979; Schlegel, 1977).

Marxist feminist analysis does not explain men's seemingly vested interest in women's continued subordination even under socialist systems. With the entry of women into the labor force, there is still ghettoization of women into gender-specific occupations less rewarded and less respected than male-dominated fields (Molyneux, 1981; Scott, 1982). Similarily in socialist countries few women rise to high decision-making levels in government or politics.

Abolition of private productive ownership and women's entrance into the public productive sphere has not been accompanied by timely socialization of domestic work (Scott, 1982). Eisenstein (1979) observed of socialist countries that even when reproductive or domestic work was brought into the public sphere, it still remained underpaid, undervalued "women's work" (p.15). The few attempts to legislate equal share of domestic work, such as in Cuba, have yet to significantly change behavior.

> If we admit that we can not totally socialize all aspects of domestic labor and child care, how are we going to wage the struggle so that men give up some of their free time to share this work? ...men will have to renounce their privilege. (Theoretical Review, 1982, p.21)

Socialist countries have failed to assure women control over their bodies and reproduction. According to the Theoretical Review (1982), "In practice, in every socialist country in the world there has been a tug-of-war between women's rights and the population requirements" (p.21). The same holds true of the lack of socialist countries' social and legislative measures to deal with rape, sexual abuse and domestic violence.

In summary, Marxist feminism does not explain the persistence and pervasiveness of male oppression of women as women.

Socialist Feminism: Connecting the Fragments

Socialist feminist analysis emerged in part as an attempt to deal with the "unhappy marriage" of Marxism and feminism (Sargent, 1981). This early union came out of women's experience with virulent sexism in the male-dominated left and revolutionary struggles in the West and the Third World. Socialist feminism continues to expose the pervasivesness and persistence of patriarchy within and across societies and classes even in socialist countries (Ehrlich, 1981).

Black feminists have expanded the analysis to address race relations as explicitly as those of class and gender (Joseph, 1981; Steady, 1981). Sexism amd racism continue to exist despite public ownership of the means of production; therefore, neither race nor gender oppression can be reduced to the institution of private productive property. Third World feminists have linked class analysis with problems of living in dependent capitalist and socialist countries within the international economic order (Flora, 1982). In analyzing society and oppression, socialist feminism is growing to combine understanding of the connections as well as contradictions of gender, class, race and underdevelopment.

By demanding a complex analysis of contemporary societies, socialist feminism considers "sex class" as well as economic and race classes. Socialist feminism has challenged what "economic class" means for women by reexamining how women are placed in class categories. Women are most often assigned class on the basis of their father or husband's relation to the means of production. While women may then have power over lower class men, whether or not they have power equal to their husbands or fathers within that ascribed class is doubtful. Economic class categories are primarily male defined (Eisenstein, 1979, p.31).

Ferguson (1983) suggested that societies should not be viewed as "economic monoliths" such as the capitalist or the socialist system. She noted that societies are a complex set of

social and economic formations, including capitalist, state and family production. Eliminating sexual division of wage labor involves eliminating the material base of the sexual division of labor in domestic spheres. Socialist feminism higlights analysis of women's oppression within the family. The intent is not to call for the abolition of the family as a social structure but to understand the implications of the present sexual division of domestic labor even when brought into the public sphere.

Throughout history the family has been the locus of reproducing the work force as well as the dominant ideology (Riddiough, 1981). The family has also been the locus of a type of production distinct from the production of material goods. This type of production is referred to as "sex affective production." It includes not only bearing and rearing children but also providing affection, nurture and sexual satisfaction. Ferguson and Folbre (1981) contended that primarily female labor is devoted to these tasks. They maintained that women's specialization in these tasks imposes structural restrictions of options, choices and rewards available to them outside the home. Sex affective production has changed across time and cultures. While men sometimes contribute to sex affective production, it is primarily assigned to women. It places tight restrictions on women's productive and reproductive roles. Because men have not had nor been expected to have equal responsibilities in providing sex affective labor, women have longer working days and fewer material rewards and options in the public sphere than men. This has resulted in systematic, long-term channeling of women into societal positions with less decision-making power and less access to control of key resources than men (Ferguson & Folbre 1981, p.319). Certainly children benefit from sex affective production. However, this divsion of labor results in not only psychological but also concrete material benefits for men in the form of higher wages and a higher standard of living than women. Personalized services by women for men within the family give men such benefits as leisure time and a higher percentage of the family's caloric intake.

Women do not labor solely for capital as argued by contemporary Marxists. Women also work directly for men. Therefore, socialist feminist analysis examines men's vested material interest in women's subordination. While both men and women may want to change the exploitive conditions of monopoly capitalism, they retain interests in their gender and race. Hartmann (1981) maintained that men and women may not be struggling for the same socialist transformation.

Socialist feminism acknowledges that capitalism, racism, patriarchy and underdevelopment are interdependent, yet at times they have contradictory needs. Socialist feminism contributes to

social transformation by focusing on men and women's relations to each other not only on their separate relations to capital. The socialist feminist analysis continually investigates and exposes the contradictions and interactions of systems of oppression. Its goal is not only to transform the structures in which men and women relate to each other but to transform the relations between and among women and men.

Uniting Feminism and WID

The importance of feminism to women in development is not its label but its analysis. By asking a different set of questions, feminist analysis provides alternative explanations of women's subordinate position and alternative strategies for changing that position.

A feminist perspective is essential for recapturing the forgotten boldness of the World Plan of Action for International Women's Year. Initally, that Plan acknowledged the necessity of transforming both the international economic order and socio-economic structures which placed women in an inferior position to men (UN, 1976). Socialist feminism builds on that boldness and moves beyond it. Socialist feminism forces a recognition that within those structures women do not live, work, love and play in isolation. Women exist in dynamic and concrete relations with men. Feminist analysis legitimizes attention to those relations, particularly to differences of power and privilege. Feminism asserts that not only must structures be transformed to allow ordinary women and men dignity and control, but concurrently women and men need to transform the relations between them. Feminist analysis provides a vision of a different development for a different society. Feminism nourishes the dream of the development of a society that is just rather than merely efficient.

Such a vision may be beyond the ambitions of the development industry. Some would argue that such a vision is even in direct contradiction to the industry's intentions. Whatever the case, by providing an alternative view, a feminist analysis allows development workers to understand the underlying assumptions and resulting limitations of the mainstream WID effort. Finally, the feminist perspective dares development workers to ask one final question of each policy and project: What are the implications for redistribution of power?

4

ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATIONS: WHAT WENT WRONG WITH THE WID EFFORT ?

Development Industry Evaluations and Explanations

> The economic and social development programs of the past three decades have barely reached these women. (World Bank, 1980, p.2)

> Considerable effort has been made by the majority of countries in furtherance of the objectives of the Decade, but the progress has been insufficient to bring about the desired quantitative or quality improvement in the status of women. (UN, 1980, p. 13)

> In 1981 and 1982, four percent of the total Agency development assistance budget was directed to support women in development. (US AID, 1983, p. 387)

> It is clear that over time there is greater acceptance and fuller understanding of the role of women in development...but there are difficulties actually programming women's participation in development.(UNDP, 1980, p.1)

After nearly ten years, "insufficient progress" is the self-proclaimed verdict of the development industry WID effort. Tinker (1982b) summarized the outcome best when she observed, "What has been the impact of all this activity ? Not much" (p.11). Agencies have published numerous evaluation reports detailing the shortcomings of their efforts. This chapter is a review of those reports.

The first section of this chapter discusses problems commonly encountered by agencies in conducting evaluations of their WID projects. It then discusses the pattern of WID programming constraints revealed by the agencies' evaluations. This section looks at evaluation and programming problems using the equilibrium perspective of the development industry. From this perspective, the purpose of evaluation is to gather information for rational decision making and for determining the efficiency of the reform effort.

Problems with Evaluation Process

Analysis of evaluation documents revealed a number of common problems with the efficiency of the actual evaluation process. Difficulties encountered by agencies with evaluation itself include the following:

* difficulty defining a WID project
* lack of baseline data for comparison and/or measurement of project success
* confusion over measurable indicators
* frequent failure to measure or report project impact or outcome
* premature nature of evaluation
* emphasis on summative evaluation

Defining WID

One of the first problems faced in evaluating WID activities was, oddly enough, defining a WID project. U.S. AID realized the difficulty while gathering information from its field missions for the first Congressionally mandated agency-wide WID evaluation. After completing the first draft of the report, AID noted, "It became evident there was no consensus on what a women in development project is" (1978, p.2).

To address the dilemma, the agency (US AID, 1978) developed a code which distinguished the following types of WID activities:

Type I: Women-Specific Project: designed to help women "catch up" and close the gap between men and women in specified areas

Type II: Women's Component: a part within a larger project deliberately designed to address women's needs

Type III: Integrated Project: large-scale project with complex, interrelated activities that take into account all women's roles. This type specified that women be involved as agents of development, not merely bereficiaries of the project. For example, to be classified Type III, a family planning project would include a training component and management responsibilities for women in addition to women receiving services

Type IV: Impact Statement or Women's Impact Project: describes a project's impact on women

The Type IV project or impact statement became known as the "women-walk-on-roads-too" category. This referred to a field mission's inclusion of a road construction project as one of its WID activities. The mission noted in the project impact statement that women too would use the completed roads (Levy, 1981; US AID, 1978). Subsequently, AID specified that the intended impact on women must be a conscious piece of project design. In 1980, this category was dropped. Other development agencies adopted these categories for evaluation and programming purposes.

Lack of Baseline Information and Measurable Indicators

Agencies lacked baseline information about women's economic, social and political status in many countries. This lack of information hindered evaluation because there was nothing against which project "success" could be determined. In other words, agencies could not measure how much a project had improved women's status in an area because agencies did not know the pre-project status. Lack of information on women's status, roles and needs hindered project evaluation and design.

In addition to the lack of baseline information agencies realized that there was disagreement over indicators. "A single, unified indicator of social status or progress of women has not been developed nor universally accepted" (US AID, 1978, p. 164). Lack of agreed-upon indicators of women's status caused difficulty in determining pre-project status, in agreeing upon project strategies to raise status and in measuring how much a project had improved status.

Save The Children (STC) candidly reported the complexity of the problem. After making an agency commitment to evaluation of their field effort, STC realized they lacked baseline information against which to measure progress. STC also realized they lacked the information about women's work and needs necessary for project planning. To remedy the situation, STC field staff conducted community surveys. However, they soon learned that the collected information did not represent the full range of women's activities. STC's survey methods involved working through community councils composed almost entirely of men. The men inadequately or inaccurately described women's work. Additionally, STC realized that almost all of their professional field staff were men (Levy, 1981).

The lack of baseline information on women necessary for evaluation as well as project planning was a problem for the entire development industry. Agencies thus indentified the interim WID goal of building an accessible international data base on women. Agencies agreed that certain indicators were particularly important to track, for instance women's

contribution to the informal economic sector. However, much information about women has yet to be systematically collected by national and international census bureaus. Furthermore, much of the routinely gathered and stored information has been organized in a way that eliminates sex differentials.

Describing Intent vs Measuring Impact

Without baseline information and agreed-upon, measurable indicators for project success, the majority of published evaluations turned out to be descriptions of project intent rather than assessment of project impact.

U.S. AID's 1978 report to Congress opened with letters indicating that the document reports the impact of projects on integrating women into their nation's economy. The letter also indicated that one section would present an evaluation of agency impact on women's income, productivity, literacy and level of participation in the development process. The report cautioned that almost 45% of listed projects had yet to be implemented. Furthermore, some projects might be "disapproved" at a later date. However, project results were not presented in terms of impact on income, productivity or literacy.

In AID's next report to Congress in 1980, language of impact and effectiveness had been eliminated. Instead, the opening noted, "This report is designed to describe the women and development programs, projects, and activities since 1978" (1980, p.3).

U.S. AID's Office of Evaluation later commissioned two evaluations of its evaluation reports, including those on sub-contracted WID projects (Elliott & Sorsby, 1979; R.Dixon, 1980). Both investigations concluded that evaluations outlined expected project benefits rather than actual benefits. Evaluations often presented project participation rather than impact. Except for women-specific projects, information on project participation and impact was usually not differentiated by sex.

In addition to the problem of reporting intent rather than impact, agencies encountered difficulties determining how the collected information would be used. UNDP's Evaluation Study #3:Rural Women's Participation in Development is a vivid example of the confusion regarding use of evaluation. As explained in the forward, the purpose of UNDP's evaluation program is to provide a mechanism for translating project experience into efficient policy and programs. Within that paragraph the evaluation is demoted to a staff paper intended to stimulate thinking and action but "not intended to convey specific stands or policy of

UNDP..." (UNDP, 1980, p.i). The purpose moves from evaluation for policy statements to evaluation to stimulate thinking but not policy to an evaluation to increase the agency's capacity to offer advice. The metamorphosis is not yet complete. Several hundred pages later, a disclaimer is buried in the conclusions, "The assessment cannot claim to offer valid specific advice...but indicates subject areas in need of further exploration and investigation" (UNDP, 1980, p.207).

Too Early to Evaluate

Even while publishing purported evaluation reports, development agencies maintained that evaluation of WID activities was premature. The following statements demonstrate this position:

> ILO stressed that evaluation of technical cooperation activities related to women's work and employment is premature. (UNDP, 1980, p.38)
>
> The realization of project objectives regarding women cannot yet be assessed. (World Bank, 1979[a],p.2)
>
> Regarding the UNDP/UNESCO Mass Education Program...it is too early to assess whether benefits are accruing to women and girls. (UNDP, 1980, p.58)

In part, the apparent resistance to evaluation is explained by the length of time which elapsed between the industry's announced WID intentions and the actual implementation of projects. In 1972 the date was set for International Women's Year. Agencies prepared publications and policies for the 1975 Mexico City World Conference. The nuts and bolts work of designing projects, securing budget appropriations and implementing projects in the field took years. Time was needed to find and hire qualified staff and to orient and train agency-wide staff to the importance and relevance of WID activities. Over a decade into WID, the development industry is still running workshops to sensitize staff and build internal WID expertise (US AID, 1983).

Summative vs. Formative Evaluation

Across the industry, development agencies emphasized evaluation at project completion in order to measure outcomes and impact. Reports presented little evidence of formative evaluations of activities in progress which might have provided information for mid-course adjustment. For example, UNDP (1980, p.61) reported its inability to assess ILO activities at this time given available information. Whether ILO activities even reached women was not known but the agency expected "a clear picture" by the end of the decade.

A formative evaluation prior to the decade's end might have assisted identification and adjustment of factors preventing ILO activities from reaching women. Similarly, two years into the UNDP/UNESCO Joint Ethiopian Mass Education Project, the agencies were unable to report whether women and girls received the same project benefits as men and boys. The agencies hypothesized that cultural traditions might affect distribution of project benefits. By waiting until the end of the project to evaluate this, the agencies abandoned any possibility of modifying the project to account for cultural constraints. With the position that evaluation should be a rigorous, one-time event at project completion, agencies absolved themselves of responsibility for mid-project correction. Ironically, agencies discovered that they had difficulty determining a project's final impact for reasons already described.

In summary, the efficiency of evaluation itself was hindered by the difficulties agencies encountered in collecting and utilizing information regarding the process and outcome of their WID activities.

WID Programming Constraints

While agencies experienced difficulties evaluating their efforts, reports nonetheless identified problems that interfered with efficient and effective programming and implementation of WID activities. The following constraints were common across the industry:

* lack of accessible, quantitative information about women
* lack of qualitative information about and understanding of women's daily lives and needs
* lack of female staff within development agencies and lack of mechanisms to insure indigenous women's input in project development
* limited internal agency understanding of and commitment to WID programming
* lack of models for designing and implementing programs aimed at women's economic needs
* lack of commitment of adequate financial resources to WID

Lack of Quantitative Information

> The deficiency of the data base for development planning is a major handicap for women...Planners lack the necessary information to include women in development programs in an effective manner (UNDP, 1980, p. 203, p.207)

UNDP articulated a programming constraint experienced across the industry. The limited data base on women interfered with project development as well as project evaluation. As a result of limited information, some projects became WID ventures by accident. Regarding numerous FAO projects, UNDP (1980) reported that wage employment of women was frequently an unplanned rather than deliberate side effect. AID (1978) reported that two of its projects in Yemen and the Philippines became WID activites through "designer ignorance." While implementing projects related to rabbit, swine and chicken production, AID discovered that women rather than men were responsible for these tasks.

Agencies agreed upon the critical need for macro-level as well as micro-level village and household information on women. Yet agencies observed that some official statistics such as rural women's labor force participation were of limited use because they greatly underestimated women's work (UNDP, 1980).

The industry seemed caught in a vicious cycle lacking information to effectively plan projects or evaluate those in operation. Available statistical information was suspect. Furthermore, agencies had difficulty securing cooperation from their own field missions as they attempted to build an internal data base.

To combat this problem, agencies sponsored state-of-the-art papers, feasibility studies, surveys and reviews. A primary WID activity continues to be collection of information aimed at closing the industry's knowledge gap on women.

Misconcpetions About Women

WID programming is also hindered by misconceptions about women's needs and daily lives. A tendency and temptation exists to view women as a homogenous group ignoring the diversity of their situations (US AID, 1978). Former World Bank President Robert McNamara frequently challenged the development community to provide opportunities for social, political and economic activities for women in addition to their traditional mother and homemaker roles.

The perception of women as primarily mothers and wives translated into a majority of projects in the areas of health, nutrition, family planning and education. Only a small percentage of projects focused on job training, management, marketing, credit or agricultural skills. While acknowledging women's contribution to development, agencies admit that ten years into WID they are only beginning to structure projects around women as prime actors in national development.

Unfortunately, even projects targeting economic areas sometimes misunderstood women's motives. For example, UNDP (1980) announced its intent to give prior attention to employment opportunities for women in rural areas "in order to retain young women who flee rural boredom to seek adventure in towns thereby helping to swell the numbers of unemployed" (p.40). Perhaps young women, like young men, flee not boredom but hunger, poverty and limited jobs which provide the cash necessary for survival.

Only recently have development agencies adjusted their view of women as mere recipients of goods and services to providers of goods and services.

Lack of Critical Mass

Agencies' limited view of women's activities and the resulting effect on WID programming is exacerbated by the discouragingly low percentage of female staff, particularly in decision-making positions. Only three of the 274 most senior positions in the World Bank are staffed by women (Women's International News, Autumn 1982). The percentage of women delegates to the UN General Assembly is less than 10 % (Nicole & Croke, 1978). Furthermore, women often avoid positions closely identified with WID for fear of limiting their careers (Tinker, 1982b).

Agencies are still struggling to establish channels for involving indigenous women in project decision making. U.S. AID (1978, 1980) concluded that little attention had yet been given to increasing women's participation as decision makers in the development process. While conceding that effective WID projects require input from the target population, large donor agencies report few examples of indigenous women's participation in project planning and implementation. "Data on the topic is scarce" (UNDP, 1980, p.3).

Save The Children reported cultural constraints in involving local women. STC noted the dilemma of enacting a development philosophy which valued community self determination when women had little voice in the community's self determination process. STC advocated involvement by local women in decision making when that involvement was contrary to tradition. Local women's participation was promoted by convincing the community that when women gained skills and knowledge, the community benefited as a whole. Men would benefit too. Female staff at all levels and local community women's groups became cornerstones of STC's programs (Levy, 1981).

Strategies to deal with limitations imposed by lack of female staff and input have been proposed in many agencies. They include increasing the number of female technical assistants and permanent staff for project planning and field teams. Agencies have also begun using local women's organizations to assist in project planning and implementation. Some resources have been directed toward training to improve the leadership and management skills of local women's organizations.

Securing this critical mass of women continues to be a challenge to an industry which has not determined how many women or channels are needed to assure attention to the WID agenda. Consider this report:

> As a part of a joint FAO, UNDP, WHO, and World Bank $120 million onchoceriasis (river blindness) project involving seven countries, FAO included a woman [emphasis added] consultant sociologist on a mission in 1978, to carry out a comprehensive review of the programme in order to ensure that the concerns of the rural family and women would be included in the programme. (UNDP, 1980, p.47)

This implies that for the lone woman sociologist the concerns of women in Benin, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Togo and Upper Volta might be overlooked in a $120 million project. As recently as 1983, deliberate focus on women in a multimillion dollar range and livestock management project in the Sahel was achieved by the lobbying efforts of a lone female social science graduate student.

Effectiveness of WID projects is also constrained by the idea that female staff, unlike male staff, can afford to volunteer time and labor to projects. In her U.S. AID-sponsored evaluation, Dixon (1980) contended, "It is doubtful that large scale projects aimed at training men in agricultural techniques or industrial skills would expect male staff members to contribute labor" (p.36). Again, misperceptions about women are apparent. Women have time to volunteer because they do not "work," and they can afford to do unpaid labor because they have husbands to support them.

Closing in on Commitment

According to agencies, cultural attitudes about women have been a key obstacle to increasing women's participation in development through WID projects. This includes attitudes of both men and women magnified and reflected in societal institutions. Attitudes of governments receiving donor assistance have been the focus of modification efforts. Evaluations acknowledged progress in sensitizing governments to the

importance of WID. "Governments' understanding and interest in programming for rural women...has reached a point where action is in most instances not only possible but welcome " (UNDP, 1980, p.202). Yet the UN Mid-Decade Conference report (1980) stated that "sensitizing had insufficiently resulted in actual integration of policy and planning implementation" (p.13).

On the local level, men's attitudes and resistance were also recognized as constraints. Agencies reported designing preparatory project phases aimed at enlisting village men's approval and cooperation for the women's project (UNESCO, 1975; American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, 1975, Levy, 1981). To gain male support, agencies had to demonstrate that the whole community, translated to mean "men," would benefit.

UNESCO (1975) reported having to open a women-specific literacy program to men:

> If the men remain illiterate they will not encourage their wives and daughters to take advantage of opportunities which they themselves do not enjoy.(p.29)

Attention has also been given to the planners and technicians within the development industry itself. Evaluations concluded that training and internal agency action are required to overcome attitudinal barriers of staff (U.S. AID, 1983; Hermanson, n.d.; Levy, 1981; UNDP, 1980).

The effort to overcome internal attitudinal barriers diverts considerable agency time and resources. For example, in 1978, U.S. AID's Africa Bureau reported, "...in the last four years our main purpose has been to sensitize the field" (p.31). Five years later U.S. AID (1983, p.388) is still running workshops to sensitize staff to the economic benefits of including women in development.

Addressing Economic Needs

When asked, women most frequently identify their major needs as economic such as the need for income, cash and wage employment (R.Dixon, 1980; Huston, 1979; Obbo, 1980; UNESCO, 1975). Likewise, the development industry identified income generation and employment as critical WID areas. However, agencies have been slow to translate this awareness into projects.

The difficulty of addressing women's economic needs is closely linked to constraints of inadequate data on women, planners' atttiudes and limited resource allocation. U.S. AID

(1978) reported:

> The enhancement of women's economic roles is not a priority for development planners so it is not receiving the adequate resources and efforts needed to develop a useful data base for planning and monitoring. (p.9)

In 1983, AID acknowledged that it still lacked experience "targeting women for other than welfare type assistance" (p.392).

UN development agencies likewise named income generation as an area needing a major thrust while simultaneously stating that income generation was a low action priority. FAO reported that few of its projects had women's wage employment as an objective. FAO research identified numerous obstacles to its promotion of wage employment as an income-generation vehicle for women. UNDP (1980) cited the following obstacles:

* culturally determined restrictions on women's work outside the family
* scarcity of arable land
* high incidence of landlessness
* priority to men's employment in countries lacking capital to create a permanent job base for both sexes
* difficulty creating employment for women in a labor surplus economy

Due to these obstacles, FAO moved away from income generation to income "preservation." This means self employment to produce goods that would otherwise cost the family money. Income preservation activities include horticulture, poultry raising and handicrafts. ILO activities have been primarily research oriented attempting to improve the data base on women's work and employment.

The few projects aimed at income generation and employment have experienced difficulties. STC reported that some projects did not generate income because market conditions for the goods produced had not been accurately assessed in the project planning stage (Levy, 1981). Both World Bank and FAO reported income generation projects in which only very low wages were received. An FAO project in Bangladesh trained women in home craft and clothing production. Private merchants bought the products at a very low price and sold the goods at a high markup. In a Nicaragua project, women sewed skirts for a Miami based firm which supplied the materials and established market. However, UNDP (1980) noted the "women were paid at an extremely low rate" (p.38). UNDP cautioned that "the maximum effort should be made to assure fair returns on labor" (p.38).

Under the World Bank's small industries project in the Philippines, jobs were created for rural housewives by the Rural Industrial Cooperatives. The Bank (1979a)reported, "While their wages are a useful supplement to family income, they are still far below the government's minimum wage" (p.14). Similarly, through World Bank-financed export industries in Mauritius, numerous jobs were created in which women made up 50 to 90% of those employed. The Bank acknowledged that women employees were preferred because they could be paid lower wages than men.

The World Bank (1979a) best summed up the difficulties of designing projects that address women's economic needs when it observed:

> For the most part, women are still asked to shoulder the major share of the burdens of bringing development about while being denied equal access to its benefits. (pp. 13-14)

Limited Financial Commitment

The development industry's rhetorical commitment to WID has not been matched by financial resource allocation. At the 1975 IWY Conference, the Voluntary Fund was extended to supplement programs for the Decade for Women. In 1977 the first Voluntary Fund Pledging Conference was held during which only one third of the UN members (34 countries) made pledges which totaled under $4 million (Tribune 1978, p.25). By the 1980 Mid-Decade Conference, the Fund goal was set at $10 million for the entire Decade. Conference attendees noted that "delays in the flow of badly needed resources has become a problem" (UN, 1980, p.140). The Fund has now committed $17 million to 300 projects (Tribune, 1983).

U.S. AID is one of the few agencies which publishes the amount of its budget allocations to WID. In 1980, out of a total development budget of $1.24 billion, all WID activities received 2% of the total budget. By 1981 and 1982, 4% of the total Agency development assistance budget was directed to support women in development (US AID, 1983).

U.S. AID (1980) spoke for the development industry when it observed, "One cannot help but be aware of the relatively small percentage amount of funding attributable to women in development" (p.236).

In summary, the development industry model consistently follows the assumptions of the equilibrium approach to social change. With primarily economic efficiency as the goal,

integration of women into the development process attempts to salvage disappointing development decades by including the forgotten 50% of human resources. Development will be more efficient with the infusion and increased productivity of these neglected resources.

Consistent with the efficiency model, evaluations gather information to determine whether a particular reform effort is succeeding. Evaluations pinpoint obstacles to the efficiency and effectiveness of the reform. Using the equilibrium lens, conditions are identified for a more efficient evaluation process. To improve evaluations, agencies are addressing the following areas:

* developing a method to categorize WID projects
* collecting baseline data on women and developing indicators for status measurement
* improving means of measuring and reporting project impact and outcome
* allowing sufficient time lapse before project evaluation
* including formative evaluation of projects

A review of agency evaluations reveals six common constraints to efficient and effective WID programming and implementation. The constraints include the following:

* inadequate quantitative information about women
* inadequate qualitative information and understanding about women's daily lives
* inadequate number of female staff and inadequate mechanisms for insuring indigenous women's input in project development
* inadequate internal staff understanding and commitment to WID programming
* inadequate models and experience with programming to meet women's economic needs
* inadequate commitment of financial resources

Agencies maintain that WID can be improved by addressing these inadequacies. Therefore, agency recommendations for future policy and program modifications account for these constraints in various combinations.

Feminism: An Alternative Evaluation and Explanation

> Feminists are not aware of different things than other people, they are aware of the same things differently. (Bartky, 1977, p.26)

The critical world view of feminism provides a different lens for viewing and evaluating the WID effort of the development industry. Central to the critical approach is attention to social justice and power distribution. Evaluation from this perspective looks at whether the reform is just and equitable rather than merely efficient. Regarding efficiency, evaluation asks: For whom is the reform efficient? Who gets what and why? Evaluation considers how oppression is produced, maintained and legitimated. Socialist feminism considers the interplay of gender, race, class and the international economic order. Evaluation calculates if and how power and resources have been redistributed by the change effort. Does the reform maintain or challenge the advantage of the powerful?

This section uses the critical view of feminism to explain the "insufficient progress" of the development industry's WID effort. Feminists have questioned the WID goal of integrating women into the development process. First, women are already deeply integrated but on inequitable terms. Second, women ask, "Integration into what ? A world and development process already determined by men " (Boulding, 1981, p.9). Mainstream WID has avoided any attention to integrating men into the work of the family and domestic productive sphere. The intention of using women to improve the disappointing performance of the past development decades shifts focus away from analyzing the failure of the development industry's entire approach. The approach has not raised the standard or quality of life for the majority of the world's men either. Poverty and injustice remain deeply intrenched. Mainstream WID will be hardpressed to improve anyone's status because it does not address power inequities.

Evaluation and Research: Woman as Object

Feminists look at evaluation and consider the process as well as the content and outcome. The industry evaluation process is an example of reproducing, maintaining and legitimizing inequity. WID evaluation and research has largely been done to and for indigenous women, rarely with them. While many evaluations have been conducted and written by professional women most often from the First World, the reports rarely indicate what indigenous women participants have to say. Little is reported on how local women experience WID activities. Agency reports do not share what local women say about the process, impact or benefits of the projects. Again the question is raised: Who speaks for women ?

Over the decade, research has been a primary industry WID activity. Some argue that research has been a diversion from action, an attempt at paralysis by analysis. The intent is not to trivialize the value of research but to focus on what makes

research valuable. Eventually, research has to be utilized and consumed.

Issues related to the production and analysis of research are on the feminist agenda. The politics of the creation of knowledge were discussed at the 1976 Wingspread Workshop on Women and Development, an event primarily attended by First and Third World women researchers. Cautions were raised against isolating women's issues from consideration of how those issues are shaped by the social context of the world economic order and class structure. Wingspread participants observed that funding, planning and selection of topics by those in developed nations recreates the inequitable power relationship between core and periphery nations.

New models should be used for the creation of knowledge to reflect new and equitable relationships between generators and objects of research. Wingspread participants called for a systematic effort:

> ...to ensure that those being researched were involved in articulating their own definitions and explanations of their own problems and in formulating the appropriate solutions. (Casal, Joseph, Pala, & Seidman, 1976, p.7)

From the critical viewpoint, participatory research is necessary to engage and mobilize oppressed people in creating and utilizing knowledge to transform unjust structures and power relations.

Feminists question how the women "researched" were included in the analysis and resulting formulation of policies and projects which targeted them. Furthermore, feminism challenges limiting women's inclusion to only those projects which somehow have been determined as explicitly affecting them. Consider the following World Bank (1975) statement:

> It is possible to design, construct, and operate a large hydroelectric or port project without incoporating...explicit ways in which women would participate in or be affected by the project. Perhaps women's roles should not be neglected...but it is possible to do so and still have a project which works and adds measurably to the national well being.(pp.5-6)

Most of the research generated by and for the development industry has focused on indigenous women targeted by WID projects. Noting that the industry may be mistakenly concentrating on only half of the equation, Reining suggested

that the development industry look closer at the obstacles it sets up for women and other marginalized groups:

> The staff and organization of a development project or program should be as much a subject of enquiry as the "people being researched." (Rogers, 1980, p.54)

Critiques inside and outside the development establishment have identified problems with the treatment of women in international and national quantitative techniques (Buvinic, 1982; Rogers, 1980). Problems with statistical collection techniques not withstanding, sooner or later the collected data must be applied. Feminists question how the many WID research conclusions are being utilized. Studies are beginning to show that women use income increases differently than men. Specifically, women use income increases more frequently than men on family needs such as improved food and nutrition and their children's educational expenses. Increased income to the man in the household does not necessarily "trickle across" to women and children. Referring to conclusions such as those above, Tinker (1981) questioned how useful such research is to planners, "If you prove that women spend more of their income on food than men do, does it follow that you can then pay women more? Or do you try to educate the husband about his family responsibility?" (p.12).

There is unwillingness to use what is already known for the benefit of women or social justice. There is unwillingness to use what is known about power inequities for the redistribution of power. Furthermore, ordinary women are usually excluded from the research process and are thus denied even the power to create knowledge.

Keeping Women as the Less Powerful Other

Although the development industry attempted to separate poor Third World women's concerns from those of women in the industry itself, the connection continues to surface. Agency evaluations have concluded that WID could be more efficient if the number of female staff were increased. Such an increase might affect other WID constraints such as insensitive staff, lack of internal commitment to WID and inaccurate perceptions about women. From the equilibrium perspective, if industry perceptions, insensitivities and percentages of women were changed, WID and development could be more efficient. However, if these changes are so crucial to successful development, why is the industry taking more than a decade to essentially convince itself ?

Advocates surely exist for increasing the percentage of WID staff and rural women's participation in project decision making.

However, identifying vocal and visible male advocates within the industry for increasing female staff in the male preserves of commerce, industry, finance, construction and banking is even more difficult. Women may be allowed greater voice in the projects that supposedly benefit them but not in the larger development arena still reserved for men.

The positions of women inside the development industry and outside in the world serviced by projects are mirror images. Limiting female staff to less prestigious industry arenas and integrating indigenous women into the bottom rungs of development serve the same function of maintaining male power and privilege.

In the much publicized Brandt Commission report, North-South: A Program for Survival (1980), the Commission noted:

> But women cannot do much to improve their lot while authority and information remain in the hands of men...But the UN institutions responsible for the programs remain largely male preserve, with few women in their agencies at senior levels. (p.62)

Ironically, the Commission itself remained largely in the hands of men.

The development decision makers are "the successor caste of the Empire-Builders" (Rogers, 1980, p,37). Increasing the presence of women, poor or professional, within development's decision-making process is to threaten to redistribute power. That redistribution is blocked and resisted because "a gain for women implies a loss to men" (Buvinic, 1982, p.9).

Even in projects addressing key areas of women's work such as water acquisition and food preparation control, technology and information are frequently not accessible to women. Appropriate technology grinders and mills are not available in a way that women or women's cooperatives control the resource (McSweeney & Freedman, 1982; UNESCO, 1975; Tinker, 1976b). Women often lack cash or credit which determine access, even on an individual level, to burden-reducing technologies. Women are rarely trained in the maintenance or management of water systems or other technologies. Having greater input into decision making may be of limited value if women still have little access to and control over project technologies, skills and products.

The explicit goal of the industry's WID effort is to increase women's economic contribution and economic productivity. This is not to be confused with increasing women's self reliance, personal esteem and control over their productivity and products.

WID has yet to address who will control or benefit from women's increased productivity. As Obbo (1980) wrote:

> Women found that, because men depended on them for achieving these goals (power, wealth, status), they regarded any direct attempt by women to seek the same goals as women being uncontrollable. The need to control women has always been an important part of male success....(p.5)

Income Generation for Whom?

The development industry has recognized the importance yet difficulty of implementing income generation projects for women. However, income generation is a prime example of the danger of separating economic efficiency issues from equity. A close look at some of the projects suggests that women's employment is an effective route to income generation, but income generation for whom? The development industry has supported employment of women in export-oriented manufacturing enterprises. One seriously questions the benefits to women of working long hours for low wages under hazardous and unhealthy conditions without seniority rights while being forcefully prevented from organizing protective unions. The real beneficiaries of that type of income generation effort are the stockholders and management of multinational corporations and elite in cooperating governments.

World Bank and UNDP-financed export-oriented factory jobs described earlier illustrate the development industry's strategy to integrate women into national economies while simultaneously denying responsibility for exploitive work conditions. Ehrenreich and Fuentes (1981) reported on the Sri Lankan garment industry set up on the advice of the World Bank with a $20 million Bank loan. Women were hired at $5 for a six-day week. When questioned about the Bank's direct support of such exploitive conditions, Gloria Scott, head of the World Bank Women and Development Program said, "Our job is to eliminate poverty. It is not our responsibility if the multinationals come in and offer such low wages. It's the responsibility of the governments" (p.59). Yet the World Bank's 1979 World Development Report spoke strongly of the need for wage restraint in poor countries.

Women's increased economic development is indeed essential to a development that is profitable for the few at the expense of many. Women are forcefully barred from protecting themselves at the factory level through unions and largely excluded from participating in global protection negotiations at the United Nations. Few women are on the UN Commission on Transnational Corporations. Furthermore, draft codes "make no reference to the

specific discrimination and exploitation of women" (Karl, 1983a, p.34).

Feminists question who really benefits from the present income generation of such employment projects. At most, women are allowed the income generation and preservation of handicrafts, poultry raising, beer making and the like. The development industry concentrates on the individual's income without supporting group organization for equitable wages and just working conditions.

Women outside development industry projects understand the obstacles to power sharing, yet there are examples of successfully confronting the obstacles. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) of India demonstrated women's ability to organize around income generation. SEWA was organized in 1973 by a group of self-employed women laborers, such as street vendors and loaders. SEWA was initially assisted by the male-dominated Textile Labour Association (TLA). However, SEWA became too efficient for the male union. SEWA established its own cooperative bank which extended credit, bought bulk and paid tax and utility bills. It even provided child care centers, housing and health and maternity insurance. Karl (1983a) reported:

> TLA expelled SEWA from its organization...TLA leaders felt increasingly threatened by the women's advance towards self-independence, and the methods of struggle which were not only opposed to TLA policy of compromise and collaboration, but also provided a dangerous role model to male workers. (p.102)

Inside or outside the parameters of development projects, explicit and implict obstacles exist to sharing economic power with women workers. Obbo (1980) observed that women's economic emancipation seemed to take a toll on men:

> Even though the world is changing all about them, it seems that women's own attempts to cope with the new situations they find themselves in are regarded as a problem by men, a betrayal of traditions which are often confused with women's roles. (p.143)

The development industry may assist the efficiency of small-scale income generation, but the industry is not about to assist women in their efforts to share economic power and benefits. For women, the price is high for separating economic efficiency issues from equity issues.

What about Men in Development?

Most WID projects graft new tasks and responsibilities on to women's already full time subsistence, domestic and mothering responsibilities. The result is to aggravate women's double day. Already overworked, often underfed and underpaid women are asked to contribute even more to national and community development. Where are the men in development programs to integrate men into the domain of reproductive and domestic work either in the public arena or within the private family. Development rhetoric may acknowledge men's attitudes as an obstacle to women's integration, but the solution has been to do something to or for women not with men. The dynamics and mechanisms of patriarchy are left intact.

WID efforts have been held suspect by men fearful of losing superiority and control. However, focusing their resistance on women in development, men may fail to question the impact of development on themselves. Pala (1981) warned against a blanket assumption that the colonial and neo-colonial development process benefits most men:

> Wages alone cannot constitute an argument that men have benefited from those systems of oppression...I am reminded of the men in our villages who were once recruited as plantation workers or infantry soldiers to fight in colonial wars. They left their villages thinking they would earn money and make some other fortune...Now these same men, at least some of them, are retired at home with no benefits, having spent their youths feeding the industrial and military machines of their days. In actuality they are no better off then their wives. (pp.211-212)

While many men may not be able to control or feel a sense of control over their lives and environments, they attempt to control their women and households.

From the feminist perspective, development industry WID has failed to establish and address the vital linkages of oppression by gender, race, class and position in the international economic order. The solutions offered attempt to increase the efficiency of societal structures and relationships which are inequitable and unjust. WID focuses on women without any complementary move to integrate men into a whole sphere of responsibilities and work. By presenting the integration of women as one solution to the failure of earlier development strategies, the industry diverts attention from the fact that development efforts have excluded most men, too. Women are going forward with or inspite of men to challenge the premises of a development that does not work for them or most of the men in their lives either.

Furthermore, women are challenging the patriarchal system of sexual hierarchy.

From the critical world view, the development industry WID effort has not brought about meangingful redistribution of dignity, power, resources and justice. The reforms of WID do not benefit women; they benefit development and only the few who really benefit from that development. Feminism promises a different approach to WID and more importantly a different approach to development itself. Women need not yield to the pressure to choose among the forms of oppression they struggle against. Nor need women any longer choose from "undesirable choices offered by men, profit-hungry corporations, insensitive governments, and development agencies"(Karl, 1983a, p.102). As social structures and relationships continue to change, women struggle for a transformation that yields social justice for all people.

5

GETTING THERE

> The mere apprehension of some state of affairs as intolerable does not, of course, transform it. This only power can do.(Bartky, 1977, p.26)

Socialist feminism provides a creative alternative for both women and development. Feminism challenges inequitable and oppressive social structures and relationships. It presents an outline for a society with shared dignity, power and justice. Socialist feminism recognizes the necessity of transforming structures and the relationships among the people who live, work, love and play within those structures. Feminism acknowledges that women have their own visions and agendas for justice and dignity. Women especially need empowering mechanisms to translate their visions into reality because "power is necessary for change...changed attitudes alone will not change institutions" (Gowan, Lakey, Moyer and Taylor, 1976, p.256).

"Power is organization" (Bachrach, 1982, p.41). Women's power individually and collectively will come from women organizing and mobilizing at all levels around the issues that affect women's and men's lives. Women organizing and mobilizing in women's organizations and movements are key factors. Women must organize inside and outside of male-dominated structures. Women must get inside and organize within unions, political parties and other groups so that women's issues are not relegated to women's ghettos. Women have to conscienticize other women and men, challenge the sexual hierarchy and build alliances for collective change.

Women will have to go to where the power and resources are, but they must go powerful and resourceful themselves. Hence, there is a need for women's independent organizations. Likewise, women will have to build alliances across class and racial lines. Women must continue to organize for access and just redistribution of resources such as credit, education, skills and training, political decision-making positions, health services and even spiritual resources. Women will continue to organize and struggle for control over their bodies and equitable access to safe and affordable reproductive health services. In all of this, women must work collectively "realize that many of their private troubles will not respond to personal solutions but are political issues which require basic change" (Gowan et al, 1976, p.252).

Independent women's organizations built around the needs and issues women voice are important for participatory grassroots mobilization (UNAPCWD, 1979). Grassroots organizations are a basis for collective action on local issues as well as a training ground for women. Locally controlled and managed organizations are places for women to use and enhance their leadership skills, to enjoy and expand their self confidence and to glory in mutual respect. They are the places to begin firsthand the building of new structures and relationships.

Certainly controversy exists around women's organizations both at the grassroots and national levels. Some are accused of being elitist, ineffective, welfare oriented and reinforcing of the status quo (Fraser, 1979; Tinker, 1981; UNAPCWD, 1979). However, there are exciting examples of groups the world over that have organized to deal directly with working class women's immediate needs while simultaneously raising consciousness and building a base for collective action (Jain, 1980; Flora, 1982; Arditti, 1983).

The reform vs. revolution controversy has long raged within feminism and other social change movements (Anand, 1983; Gowan et al, 1976; UNAPCWD, 1980). Can those working for radical change work with those working for reform ? Reforms to make the dominant economic and patriarchal systems more just for only a few perpetuates the myth that with some adjustment the dominant systems can work. Feminists know this is not possible; hence, there is a need to be wary of wasting efforts on dead-end adjustments. Nonetheless, efforts such as emergency food relief, shelters for battered women and unemployment compensation to relieve people's immediate suffering are often necessary. Involvement with short-term critically-needed actions should be coupled with education and action for long-term meaningful change of the underlying problems.

Movement for a New Society (MNS) (Gowan et al,1976) suggested that working for "revolutionary reform: reform which advances toward a radical transformation of society" (p.272) is necessary and acceptable. Gorz distinguished between reformist and revolutionary change by outlining critieria for "revolutionary reform" (Gowan et al, 1976). The critieria for such reform efforts include the following:

* a shift in power, that is, extension of people's control
* objectives consistent with the long-term goals for a new society and based on critical analysis of the present system
* reform raising people's consciousness about the need for a new society

Revolutionary reform is not about individual advancement or even improvements for marginalized groups unless those improvements reduce the power and privilege of the dominant groups.

With those critieria as a base, feminists can plan their actions and build networks. Women must reach out across boundaries to listen, learn, conscienticize, train and mobilize each other rather than isolate themselves with the "politically correct." Alinsky (1972) noted: "As an organizer I start from where the world is, as it is, not where I would like it to be" (p.xix). Thus, feminists should work with grassroots, non-feminist groups to assist women to meet their immediate daily needs as well as to continue analyzing their position as women and workers (Flora, 1982).

The process of change and organizing is as important as organizational outcomes. Women organizers and leaders should employ methods that are as participatory, collective and just as the society they are building. Participatory and collective action requires purposeful organizational mechanisms as well as experiences that allow people to practice working collectively. Because of time constraints, leaders are sometimes tempted to cast aside collective work for more efficient and effective methods. Participatory methods sometimes fail because of lack of understanding and skills in using them. Other times there is mistrust in common folks' abilities. Collective action does not require that everyone be directly involved in every decision, but that open, identifiable, flexible mechanisms are in place for people to decide how decisions will be made. Sharing power, decision making and work requires structure. Transforming structures and relationships takes time and trust for learning and living the revolution.

Women within the development industry should continue to creatively organize and pressure for policies and programs that address the real oppressive conditions of the women they are serving. Programs and policies should trickle up from the needs and wants articulated at the grassroots level. In order to trickle up, projects may require flexible time lines and procedures (Tendler, 1975; Korten, 1980). Within the development industry there is need for women and men to advocate for a feminist approach to WID because major development agencies still control resources and the directions of development (UNAPCWD, 1979; Karl, 1983b). Furthermore, women cannot leave themselves vulnerable to the industry's projects nor can they afford to let misinformed decision makers allocate resources without accountability to social justice.

Professional women should continue to strive to understand the oppression of women within their own countries and listen to the agendas articulated by women of different classes and colors.

Women should uncover the connections between their government and industry's actions and the oppression of women at home and abroad. Feminists should think globally and act locally (von Hahmann, 1981).

While professional and elite women cannot set the agenda for other women they can act as resource people putting their skills and connections at the disposal of other women (UNAPCWD, 1979). Professional women within the development industry can act as conduits for women's messages while simultaneously fighting for meaningful redistribution of resources and power. Professional women development workers should continue to take women's issues to international and national conferences and refuse to allow these issues to be set aside for "women only" conferences.

Women organizing and mobilizing in women's organizations and movements are not the only solutions, but they are key mechanisms for empowerment with dignity. Feminists and all of those participating in the long-term work of living the revolution would do well to remember that the transformation process must mirror the just world they seek to build.

REFERENCES

Alinsky, S. (1972). Rules for radicals. New York: Vintage Books.

Anand, A. (1983). Rethinking women and development. In Women in development: A resource guide. Geneva: ISIS Collective.

American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service. (1975). Criteria for evaluation of development projects involving women. New York: Author.

Arditti, R. (1983). Latin American and Caribbean feminists meet. Off Our Backs, 13, 10, 1-3, 20.

Atkinson, M. (1983). Review essay: Anthropology. Signs, 238-244.

Bachrach, P. (1982, Fall). Class struggle and democracy. Democracy, 29-42.

Barrett, M. (1980). Women's oppression today: Problems in Marxist feminist analysis. London: Verso Editions.

Bartky, S. (1977). Toward a phenomenology of feminist consciousness. In M. Vetterling-Braggin, F. Elliston, & J. English (Eds.), Feminism and philosophy (pp. 22-37). Totowa, NJ: Littlefield, Adams & Company.

Blumberg, R. (1976). Fairy tales and facts: Economy, family, fertility and the female. In I. Tinker & M. Bramsen (Eds.), Women and development (pp. 12-21). Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council.

Boserup, E. (1970). Woman's role in economic development. New York: St. Martin's Press.

_____ & Liljencrantz, C. (1975). Integration of women in development. New York: United Nations Development Programme.

Boulding, E. (1981). Integration into what? Reflections on development planning for women. In R. Dauber & M. Cain (Eds.), Women and technological change in developing countries (pp. 9-24). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

_____. (1980). Women: The Fifth World. New York: Foreign Policy Association.

Bourque, S. & Warren, K. (1981). Women of the Andes. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Brandt Commission. (1980). North-South: A program for survival. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bronstein, A. (1983). The triple struggle: Latin American peasant women. Boston: South End Press.

Bunch, C. (1981). Building feminist theory. New York: Longman.

_____. (1980). Copenhagen and beyond: Prospects for global feminism. Quest, 5, 25-35.

Burrell, G. & Morgan, G. (1979). Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis. Exeter, NH: Heinemann.

Buvinic, M. (1982, June). Has development assistance worked? Observations on programs for poor women in the Third World. Paper presented at annual meeting of the Society for International Development, Baltimore, MD.

Casal, L; Joseph, S.; Pala, A. & Seidman, A. (1976). Women and development: Report of a Wingspread workshop. Racine, WI: Johnson Foundation.

Dixon, M. (1980). Women in class struggle. San Francisco: Synthesis Publications.

Dixon, R. (1980). Assessing the impact of development projects on women. Washington, DC: Agency for International Development, Bureau of Program and Policy Coordination.

Ehrenreich, B. & Fuentes, A. (1981, January). Life on the global assembly line. Ms., 51-63.

Ehrlich, C. (1981). The unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism: Can it be saved? In L. Sargent (Ed.), Women and revolution (pp. 109-134). Boston: South End Press.

Eisenstein, Z. (1981). Reform and/or revolution: Towards a unified women's movement. In L. Sargent (Ed.), Women and revolution (pp. 339-362). Boston: South End Press.

_____. (1979). Capitalist patriarchy and the case for socialist feminism. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Elliot, V. & Sorsby, V. (1979, May). An investigation into evaluations of projects designed to benefit women: Final report. Paper presented at the Agency for International Development Office of Evaluation, Bureau of Program and Policy Coordination, Washington, DC.

Elshtain, J. (1981). Public man, private woman. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Engels, F. (1980). The origin of the family, private property and the state. New York: International Publishers.

Evans, S. (1980). Personal politics. New York: Vintage Books.

Ferguson, A. (1983). Personal communication.

_____ & Folbre, N. (1981). The unhappy marriage of patriarchy and capitalism. In L. Sargent (Ed.), Women and revolution (pp. 313-338). Boston: South End Press.

Flora, C. (1982). Socialist feminism in Latin America. Working papers on women in international development. East Lansing: Michigan State University.

Fraser, A. (1979). Forward. In P. Huston, Third World women speak out. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Freire, P. (1973). Education for critical consciousness. New York: Continuum.

Gough, K. (1975). The origin of the family. In R. Reiter (Ed.), Toward an anthropology of women (pp. 51-76). New York: Monthly Review Press.

Gowan, S.; Lakey, G.; Moyer, W. & Taylor, R. (1976). Moving toward a new society. Philadelphia: New Society Press.

Hartmann, H. (1981). The unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism: Towards a more progressive union. In L. Sargent (Ed.), Women and revolution (pp. 135-164). Boston: South End Press.

Hayter, T. (1981). The creation of world poverty. London: Pluto Press.

Hermanson, J. (n.d.).Women in development: Defining an approach. Washington, DC: Peace Corps.

Huston, P. (1979). Third World women speak out. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Iglitzin, L. & Ross, R. (Eds.). (1976). Women in the world. Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Books.

ISIS Collective. (1983). Women in development: A resource guide. Geneva: Author.

Jagger, A. (1977). Political philosophies of women's liberation. In M. Vetterling-Braggin, F. Elliston & J. English (Eds.), Feminism and philosophy (pp. 5-21). Totowa, NJ: Littlefield, Adams & Company.

_____ & Struhl, P. (1978). Feminist frameworks. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Jain, D. (1980). Women's quest for power. Sahibabad, India: Vikas Publishing.

Joseph, G. (1981). The incompatible menage a trois: Marxism, racism, and feminism. In L. Sargent (Ed.), Women and revolution (pp. 109-134). Boston: South End Press.

Kanter, R. (1977). Men and women of the corporation. New York: Basic Books.

Karl, M. (1983a). Women and multinationals. In Women in development: A resource guide (pp. 25-60). Geneva: ISIS Collective.

_____. (1983b). Women and rural development. In Women in development: A resource guide (pp. 61-142). Geneva: ISIS Collective.

Korten, D. (1980). Community organization and rural development: A learning process approach. New York: Ford Foundation.

Latin American and Caribbean Women's Collective, (1977). Slave of slaves. New York: Author.

Levy, M. (1981). Bringing women into the community development process: A pragmatic approach. Westport, CT: Save the Children.

McSweeney, B. & Freedman, M. (1982). Lack of time as an obstacle to women's education: The case of Upper Volta. In G. Kelly & C. Elliot (Eds.), Women's education in the Third World: Comparative perspectives (pp. 88-106). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Memmi, A. (1965). The colonizer and the colonized. New York: Orion Press.

Mitchell, J. (1971). Woman's estate. New York: Pantheon Books.

Molyneux, M. (1981). Socialist societies old and new: Progress towards women's emancipation? Feminist Review, 8.

Nicole D. & Croke, M. (Eds.). (1978). The United Nations and decision making: Role of women, vol. 2. New York: United Nations Institute for Training and Research.

Obbo, C. (1980). African women. London: Zed Press.

Pala, A. (1981). Definitions of women and development: An African perspective. In F. Steady (Ed.), The black woman cross-culturally (pp. 209-214). Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.

Papagiannis, G.; Klees, S. & Bickel, R. (1982). Toward a political economy of educational innovation. Review of Educational Research, 52, 245-290.

Papanek, H. (1975a). The work of women: Postscript from Mexico City, Signs, 1, 215-226.

_____. (1975b). Women in South and Southeast Asia: Issues and research. Signs, 1, 193-214.

Paulston R. (1979). Multiple approaches to the evaluation of education reform: From cost benefit to power analysis. Paris: UNESCO, Institute of International Educational Planning.

_____. (1976). Conflicting theories of social and educational change: A typological review. Pittsburgh: University Center for International Studies.

Reiter, R. (1975). Introduction. In R. Reiter (Ed.), Toward an anthropology of women (pp. 11-19). New York: Monthly Review Press.

Riddiough, C. (1981). Socialism, feminism, and gay/lesbian liberation. In L. Sargent (Ed.), Women and revolution (pp. 43-70). Boston: South End Press.

Rogers, B. (1980). The domestication of women. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Rosaldo, M. & Lamphere, L. (Eds.). (1974). Women, culture, and society. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Sacks, K. (1975). Engels revisited: Women, the organization of production, and private property. In R. Reiter (Ed.), Toward an anthropology of women (pp. 211-234). New York: Monthly Review Press.

Sanday, P. (1974). Female status in the public domain. In M. Rosaldo & L. Lamphere (Eds.), Woman, culture, and society (pp. 189-206). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Sargent, L. (1981). Women and revolution. Boston: South End Press.

Schlegel, A. (1977). Toward a theory of sexual stratification. In Schlegel (Ed.), Sexual stratification: A cross-cultural view (pp. 1-40). New York: Columbia University Press.

Scott, H. (1982). Why the revolution doesn't solve everything: What we can learn from the economics of "real socialism." Women's Studies International Forum, 5, 451-462.

Severn, J. (1980). Northern women and the new international economic order. New York: United Nations Development Programme.

Steady, F. (1981). The black woman cross-culturally: An overview. In F. Steady (Ed.), The black woman cross-culturally (pp. 7-42). Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.

Stephenson, C. (1982). Feminism, pacificism, nationalism, and the United Nations Decade for Women. Women's Studies International Forum, 5, 287-300.

Sullerot, E. (1971). Woman, society, and change. London: World University Library.

Tendler, J. (1975). Inside foreign aid. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Theoretical Review. (1982). Feminist questions about Marxist theory. Theoretical Review, 28, 19-21.

Tinker, I. (1982a). Feminist values: Ethnocentric or universal? Washington, DC: Equity Policy Center.

_____. (1982b). Gender equity in development: A policy perspective. Washington, DC: Equity Policy Center.

_____. (1981, March-April). Policy strategies for women in the 1980's. Africa Report, 11-16.

_____. (1976a). Introduction: The seminar on women in development. In I. Tinker & M. Bramsen (Eds.), Women and world development (pp. 1-6). Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council.

_____. (1976b). The adverse impact of development on women. In I. Tinker & M. Bramsen (Eds.), Women and world development (pp. 22-34). Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council.

Tribune. (1983, Spring). New York: International Women's Tribune Centre.

_____. (1981, January). New York: International Women's Tribune Centre.

_____. (1978, July). New York: International Women's Tribune Centre.

_____. (1976, September). New York: International Women's Tribune Centre.

UNESCO. (1975). Women, education, equality: A decade of experiment. Paris: Author.

United Nations (1980). Report of the world conference of the United Nations Decade for Women. New York: Author.

_____. (1979). State of the world's women report. New York: Author.

_____. (1976). Report of the world conference of the International Women's Year? New York: Author.

_____. (1967). United Nations assistance for the advancement of women. New York: Author.

United Nations Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development. (1980, April). Developing strategies for the future: Feminist perspectives. Report from the Stony Brook, NY workshop.

_____. (1979, June). Feminist ideology and structures in the first half of the Decade for Women. Report from the Bangkok workshop.

United Nations Development Programme. (1980). Evaluation study #3: Rural women's participation in development. New York: Author.

United States Agency for International Development. (1983). Women in development: 1982 report to Congress. Washington, DC: Author, Office of Women in Development.

_____. (1982). A.I.D. policy paper: Women in development. Washington, DC: Author, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination.

_____. (1980). Women in development: 1980 report to Congress. Washington, DC: Author, Office of Women in Development.

_____. (1978). Report on women in development: 1978. Washington, DC: Author, Office of Women in Development.

Urdang, S. (n.d.). A revolution within a revolution: Women in Guinea-Bissau. Somerville, MA: New England Free Press.

Van Allen, J. (1972). Sitting on a man: Colonialism and the lost political institutions of Igbo women. Canadian Journal of African Studies, 6, 165-182.

von Hahmann, G. (Ed.). (1981). Women and world issues. Washington, DC: Overseas Education Fund.

Women's International News. (1982, Autumn).

World Bank. (1980). Women in development. Washington, DC: Author.

_____. (1979a). Recognizing the "invisible" women in development: The World Bank's experience. Washington, DC: Author.

_____. (1979b). World development report. Washington, DC: Author.

_____. (1975). Integrating women into development. Washington, DC: Author.

Young, I. (1981). Beyond the unhappy marriage: A critique of the dual systems approach. In L. Sargent (Ed.), Women and revolution (pp. 43-70). Boston: South End Press.

OTHER SOURCES

Andrews, A. (1982). Rethinking women and development. In Women in development: A resource guide. Geneva: ISIS Collective.

Barnes-McConnell,P. & Lodwick, D. (1983). Working with international development projects: A guide for women in development. East Lansing: Office of Women in Development, Michigan State University.

Beneria, L. & Sen, G. (1982). Class and gender inequalities and women's role in economic development: Theoretical and practical implications. Feminist Studies, 8, 157-176.

_____. (1981). Accumulation, reproduction, and women's role in economic development: Boserup revisited. Signs, 7, 279-298.

Bernard, A. & Gayfer, M. (1983, April). Women hold up more than half the sky: A Third World perspective on women and nonformal education for development. Toronto: International Council for Adult Education.

Blair, P. (1983). Women's issues in U.S. AID administration: Implementation of the Percy Amendment. Washington, DC: Equity Policy Center.

Buvinic, M. (Ed.). (1976). Women and world development: An annotated bibliography. Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council.

Coombs, P. (1980). Meeting the basic needs of the rural poor. New York: Pergamon Press.

Coover, V.; Esser, C.; Deacon, E. & Moore, C. (1981). Resource manual for a living revolution. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.

Council on Interracial Books for Children. (1982). Fact sheets on institutional sexism. New York: Author.

Edwards, R.; Reich, M. & Weisskoph, T. (Eds.). (1978). The capitalist system: A radical analysis of American society. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Harding, S. (1981). What is the real material base of patriarchy and capital. In L. Sargent (Ed.), Women and revolution (pp. 135-164). Boston: South End Press.

Heatley, R. (1979). Poverty and power. London: Zed Press.

Kruger, C. & Moulton, J. (1981). A retrospective study of the DS/ED nonformal education program 1970-1980. Washington, DC: Agency for International Development.

Leacock, E. (1977). Women, development, and anthropological facts and fiction. Latin American Perspectives, 11/12, 8-17.

Miller, D. (1980). Transnational corporations: Obstacles to and catalysts of development (Development Issue Paper). New York: United Nations Development Programme.

Papanek, H. (1977). Developing planning for women. In Wellesley Editorial Committee, Women and national development: The complexities of change (pp. 14-22). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Roodkowsky, M. (1983). Women and development literature: A survey. In Women and development: A resource guide (pp. 13-24). Geneva: ISIS Collective.

Schuster, I. (1982). Recent research on women in development. Journal of Development Studies, 18, 511-535.